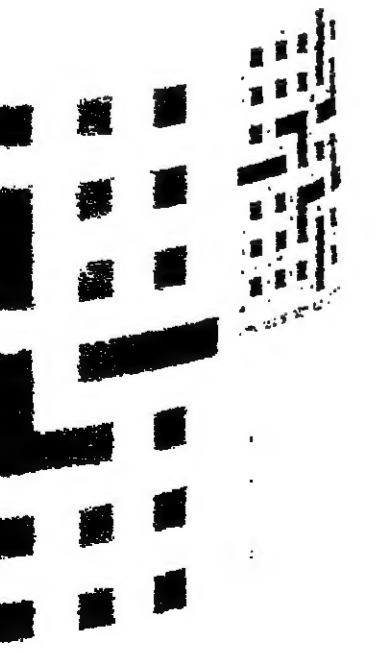


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**Wednesday March 27 1996**

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Belgium 10.00	USSR 1.00	Romania 2.25
Belgium 10.00	Zimbabwe 1.00	Romania 2.25

# The Guardian INTERNATIONAL

Printed in London, Manchester, Frankfurt and Roubaix

<b>Guide to Oscar night</b>	<b>Our fear of the single life</b>	<b>The future of the EU</b>
<b>I'd like to thank...</b>	<b>Home alone</b>	<b>Europe: more or less?</b>
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## Police chiefs want anti-terror squad to spy on green activists

**Move urged as frustration grows over anti-roads campaigners**

Senior officers in the fight against terrorism were scuffling last night. One said: "These people should be dealt with as a public order issue. What are we talking about here most of the time? Criminal damage? It's a public relations disaster."

The move follows a period of increasing frustration for chief constables over the anti-roads campaign, which has

held up work at sites around the country. Supporters of the move suggest that many of the people involved in the animal liberation movement are also engaged in the anti-roads protest and it would make sense to have a nationally based system of gathering intelligence.

About a year ago the Association of Chief Police Officers embarked on a pilot study on "environmental extremism". After major confrontations in Thames Valley and Hampshire, it was concluded that a co-ordinated response was needed. The change was recom-

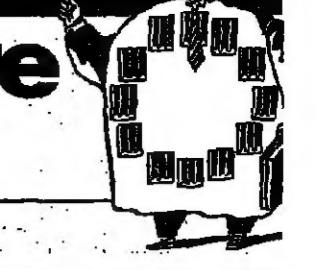
mended by the Acpo committee on terrorism on January 24. The proposal, to be debated by Acpo on April 10, states: "The chief constables' council is asked to endorse the decision of Acpo council committee to extend the role of the national co-ordinator to include the investigation of all aspects of terrorism and co-ordination of environmental inquiries at the invitation of chief constables."

Police sources stressed that the co-ordinating function was aimed at the "top of the scale" activists rather than demonstrators or people who

climbed trees. They were interested in violent protest rather than "people sitting down in the middle of the road which is a public order issue."

"Nothing should be read into the fact that John Grieve is the head of the anti-terrorist branch," a police source said. "It's just that he has the infrastructure to deal with it." Commander Grieve, who has just returned from Ireland, was not available for comment.

One of the groups that would undoubtedly come under the scrutiny of the Yard, if the plan were to be accepted, is the "Donga" tribe, whose members form a



## Major set for cattle cull U-turn

**There is a need to restore confidence in the market because of ill-conceived comments and ignorance of science'**

**The Prime Minister**

With ministers and officials still working frantically to establish what measures would be sufficient to win repeal of the EU worldwide ban — due to be confirmed today — and how much Brussels would contribute to the huge compensation costs, Whitehall was still refusing to confirm the imminent U-turn.

Sister exchanges with Tony Blair and Paddy Ashdown at Prime Minister's question time left MPs in little doubt that Mr Major still believes scientific advice does not justify a mass culling of the herd on public health grounds.

But he now expects to be forced into it by what he angrily called the need to "restore confidence in the market because of ill-conceived comments and ignorance of science."

At Westminster a confrontation loomed between the Government and its 14 European partners four days before the start of the EU's crucial inter-governmental conference (IGC) in Turin, which irate Tory MPs will now expect to be dominated by the realities of the beef crisis, not theoretical blueprints for Europe's future government.

Yesterday the National Farmers' Union called for the culling of older cattle to restore confidence in beef which took a further batter-

ing with the announcement by Bird's Eye that it was halting production of beefburgers because of the crisis.

In what is now a straight political fight, with the scientific evidence left far behind, there was little European sympathy for the Government and its minimalist attitude towards the EU. It leaves the Prime Minister desperately short of allies just when he faces paying between £350 and £800 compensation for every cullled cow — up to 800,000 even on the restricted terms being discussed.

At Westminster the NFU's president, David Nash, circled the Labour and Liberal Democrat leaders, and ministers, to garner support. With the Health Secretary, Stephen Dorrell, quoting a Sun editorial that "it is the public that is mad, not the cows," tempers frayed. The Labour leader, Mr Blair, accused ministers of "mind-boggling incompetence" and Mr Major stung out Mr Dorrell's shadow, Harriet Harman, for "undermining" a key industry.

Yesterday EU veterinary experts confirmed their recommendation that British beef should be banned worldwide for the second day running, which the European Commission will ratify today. The decision — which left UK officials "very disappointed" — came after a day of administrative confusion and acrimony over Monday night's premature announcement by Franz Fischler, the Austrian agriculture commissioner, that the move had already been agreed.

The ban was temporarily blocked by the two British commissioners, Sir Leon Brittan and Neil Kinnock, pending a fuller consideration of the scientific evidence and legal advice on whether a worldwide ban is lawful.

To the rage of Euro-sceptical Tories, who questioned its legality, the commission maintained yesterday that it is empowered to prevent British beef being exported to third countries in case it is then re-exported back into the EU. That amounts to imposing a worldwide ban, though the point may be academic because few markets now remain open to British beef.

Following Monday's 14 to 1 vote in favour of the ban, the veterinary experts from all 15 member states reconvened for a second day yesterday, at John Major's insistence, to hear Sir Kenneth Calman, the chief medical officer, chief veterinary officer, Keith Meldrum, and Professor John Patison, head of the expert committee looking into BSE, give additional scientific evidence. "Naturally I am very disappointed," Mr Meldrum said later.

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## Gaffe mars Queen's visit

**address: "Nor can we ever forget the suffering of the Polish people under Nazi occupation, nor the terrible fate of the Polish Jews."**

**ROYAL officials were forced to admit another embarrassing blunder when the Queen delivered the wrong speech to the Polish parliament yesterday and omitted a commemorative paragraph commemorating the suffering of the Polish Jews in the second world war.**

The visit is increasingly being seen as an accident-prone affair, following her last week following criticism from prominent British Jews that she would not be laying a wreath at Auschwitz in memory of Holocaust victims.

The Queen failed to include in her keynote



**"I was all at sea till I found out about Ruskin College"**

**John Prescott:** When I was a very young seaman, like many I had missed the chance of full-time further education. Then I heard about Ruskin College.

Founded in 1899 Ruskin was the first residential college for working people and for those who had little or no educational opportunity when young.

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 Ruskin College is a charity which exists to provide education for adults.

## RSPCA rocked as Charity Commissioners order curbing of animal cruelty campaigns

**John Keeble**

**THE RSPCA has been thrown into turmoil by a Charity Commissioners ruling that will force it to tone down many of its campaigns against cruelty to animals.**

It has been told that it must stop campaigning against activities which are considered to have a benefit for mankind. In such cases, it can only fight for the welfare of the affected animals. The ruling is a boon for blood sports and landowning interests.

"This is absolutely devastating," said one RSPCA insider. "The whole basis of our work to protect animals will have to change to simple welfare."

Angela Walder, a member of the RSPCA's ruling council, commented last night: "The situation is incomprehensible. We've got little old ladies all round the country giving us money from their pensions to fight for animals — they aren't going to understand this quango saying we can't do it. To hell with the Charity Commissioners."

The ruling on charity law is contained in a letter by Richard Fries, the Chief Charity Commissioner, and has been confirmed by legal counsel instructed by the society.

In his letter, Mr Fries says the RSPCA would be acting in a way inconsistent with its charitable status "if it asserted that the infliction of pain on animals could not be justified, even in circumstances in which it confers a higher benefit upon mankind."

Christopher McCall QC, instructed by the RSPCA to review the commissioners' ruling, was even blunter in his assessment of the law on campaigning for animals by charities. "Charity must serve the overriding object of the public benefit. That is to be measured in terms of the benefit to mankind."

The ban presents a fundamental obstacle to campaigning, say members of the RSPCA's ruling council, but they have told the commissioners they will toe the line. Ron Kirby, chairman of the council, said yesterday: "As a Turn to page 3, column 7

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Sketch

Mad world of beef encounters



Simon Hoggart

JOHN MAJOR revealed the Government's new confidence-boosting slogan yesterday: "Eat British Beef - you probably won't die."

As the BSE scandal followed the traditional British path from tragedy to farce (it's as if Macbeth ended with the porter's scene), the Government's position became slightly clearer.

ling to the very end. BSE, he said, was not a party political crisis, but a crisis for the whole nation.

This is the Government's core position: it is quite in order for us to criticise them for minor mistakes. But when they bring us a global catastrophe, it is Labour's duty to rally round and pretend it is nobody's fault.

Mr Blair went into his faux-naïf act and asked the Prime Minister to "quantify" the exact amount of danger a beef-eater faced.

Half the Labour benches joyfully waved their arms at the Government front bench while shouting "You! you!" and the other half sat back in relaxed and sated pleasure.

Leaked memos show oil company jeopardised Turkish city's drinking water over 30-year period

Shell 'polluted water supply'

Paul Brown, and Chris Nuttall in Ankara

SHELL has been pumping contaminated waste water from oilfields into the aquifer that supplies drinking water to 2 million people in Turkey.

Documents, Greenpeace yesterday described Shell's activities as "a specific case of systematic pollution."

Shell ran the oilfield for 30 years. Water contaminated with oil is brought up from wells deep underground. To get rid of millions of gallons of it, Shell drilled holes into the shallow aquifer of pure water and pumped in polluted water.

Dr Fay received a reply saying there was no economic case for recovering the oil. He said: "It should be made quite clear that we need to take the utmost care to ensure that economics alone do not distract us from ensuring that all steps have been taken to safeguard the environment."

Turkey were told the city's water supply would become contaminated in 30 years and would remain so for between 100 and 200 years.

One of the staff who thought the practice unacceptable was the then general manager and chief executive of Shell Turkey, Christopher Fay, who now runs Shell UK.



30 miles

The problem and, by the end of 1995, 50 per cent of the waste water was being safely disposed of. By 1997, all the water would have been injected back into the Mardin oil strata under the scheme.

First night

Disco diva's blast from the past

Caroline Sullivan

Donna Summer

MOST former disco divas are notorious for nothing more than the girth of their wigs. Donna Summer, however, engendered lasting controversy 10 years ago when she announced that AIDS was divine retribution against homosexuals.

made the most of it, glittery songs like hers demand more chrome-plating in the stage-set department.

All that was as nothing, though, when she began to sing. One had forgotten quite what a loud voice she had — she held the mike a foot away and they still could have heard her in Birmingham.

It took a re-release of her classic I Feel Love to bring Summer back to London for the first time in eight years.

Australian backpacker murder trial opens

Christopher Zimm in Sydney

THE trial of Australia's alleged backpacker killer began here yesterday, with claims he may not have acted alone.

The first body found was that of Welsh tourist Joanne Walker. Her English friend Caroline Clarke, 21, was found with 10 bullet wounds to the head.

Scotland waits to trade on Oscar's bounty

Oscars

- Best Picture: Braveheart
Best Actor: Nicolas Cage
Best Actress: Annette Bening
Best Supporting Actor: Kevin Spacey
Best Supporting Actress: Holly Hunter
Best Director: James Cameron
Best Screenplay: Tom Hanks

Judges voice concern at asylum benefits cut

Alan Travis Home Affairs Editor

TWO High Court judges yesterday voiced concern that the withdrawal of benefits from most asylum seekers would have "drastic and unwelcome consequences" despite upholding the Government's decision as strictly legal.

Scotland waits to trade on Oscar's bounty

There was only one hitch to such triumphalism. Braveheart was filmed largely in Ireland, which offered generous tax subsidies and free use of the army for battle scenes.

and is planning a publicity campaign in the United States on the back of Emma Thompson's Oscar for her screenplay of Sense and Sensibility.

Eurostar advertisement for Brussels featuring a cartoon character and text: '400 different beers. Europe's Capital of Art Nouveau. 100 Years of Cartoons at the Comic Strip Museum. And chocolates. Go to the centre on Eurostar from £69 return.'

erve boosts inness

Students grants ov

the centre on Eurostar from £69 return.

Supply

# Nerve study boosts Gulf illness fight

Chris Millill and Melanie McFadyen

**G**ULF War veterans with unexplained illnesses are suffering from a form of nerve damage, research published today will show.

Although the cause is still unclear, it is possible a combination of anti-nerve gas drugs may have been responsible.

The findings of a Glasgow neurologist, to be published in the Journal of Neurology, Neurosurgery and Psychiatry, show the nervous systems of 14 veterans had clear differences to those of 13 healthy civilians.

The research comes as an American scientist is arguing that chemical agents damaged the immune systems of soldiers in the Gulf, making them vulnerable to side-effects of the polio vaccine they were given.

The studies will assist veterans campaigning to have their illness recognised by the Ministry of Defence.

The UK research was carried out by Goran Jamal, of the Institute of Neurological Sciences at the Southern General hospital, in Glasgow.

The veteran and civilian groups were tested on their ability to hear sound impulses, to assess damage to the central nervous system.

The results show there were significant differences between the two populations — the Gulf War veterans versus the control population — in terms of nervous system function.

The TV programme did not identify a possible cause of the damage, but Dr Jamal said the "NAPS" nerve gas agent given to thousands of soldiers could be an important factor.

French soldiers not issued with NAPS tablets have had no health problems. In the programme, several veterans recall how they were

given a cocktail of 17 injections against diseases like plague — and tablets designed to protect them from biological and nerve gas attack — all within a few days.

"One of the problems is we research these substances in isolation," said Dr Jamal, an Iraqi Kurd. "What we don't know is the combined effect, of for instance NAPS combined with other compounds, and I think it is underestimated."

Veterans speak bitterly in the programme of the legacy of ill-health that they have suffered since serving in the Gulf.

Some recall how they reported feeling unwell shortly after the injections — only to be given a paracetamol tablet, in some cases by army doctors feeling equally as sick.

Bob Anderson, from Methilhill, Fife, who served 22 years in the army, says he used to suffer from a chronic back pain, muscle spasms, constant colds, tiredness, lethargy, behavioural problems, tension, and insomnia.

The US work has been carried out by Howard Urnovitz, a research microbiologist from the company, Calypso Biomedical, in Berkeley, California, who compared 134 Gulf veterans with 345 civilians.

He says the troops were given oral polio vaccine, but failed to create the antibodies (defence cells) the vaccine normally makes, leaving them open to infection, particularly the post-viral fatigue syndrome from which many Gulf veterans suffer.

"The important aspect of these results is that they show the immune systems of the veterans were damaged. We know that from the absence of antibodies to the oral polio vaccine. That absence is probably due to contact with chemical agents."

The theory has been backed by Jim Tuite, former director of the US Senate investigation into the Gulf War syndrome, who said toxic fumes and possibly organo-phosphate agents, like the nerve gas Sarin, could have reacted with the polio vaccine to damage the immune system.



Sunday afternoon drinking in an 1897 gin palace. Below, advertisement aimed at younger market for gin, the favourite tipple of Sir Denis Thatcher

## In praise of gin

When he buys his ties, he has to ask if gin will make them run  
**Scott Fitzgerald**  
*The Last Tycoon*

No man is genuinely happy, married, who has to drink worse gin than he used to drink when he was single  
**H L Mencken**  
*Reflections on Monogamy*

'How much gin did you put in the jug?'  
'A liberal tumblerful, sir.'  
'Would that be the normal dose for an adult defeatist, do you think?'  
**P G Wodehouse**  
*Right Ho, Jeeves*

'Little nips of whisky, little drops of gin,  
Make a lady wonder where on earth she's bin'  
**Anon**

# Tonic for Sir Denis as grovelling Gordon's apologises

Furore over marketing memo ends in firm coughing up cases of mother's ruin for Thatcher book launch, reports John Mullin

**EVERYBODY** was happy: Carol Thatcher had some lovely publicity for her latest book: Sir Denis had a few bottles of his favourite tipple secured; and even United Distillers came out of its smelling of flowers. Juniper, in fact. Only the poor soul who mucked up had anything to worry about.

The disgraced marketing chap had penned a memorandum to his boss, Steve Boland, ridiculing an audacious proposal from Ms Thatcher. She thought it a wheeze to ask United Distillers to supply cases of gin during the book launch. The nation's favourite gin, for her book launch next month. Below: The Parapet. Ms Thatcher's



deal with the furore. Such applications usually go through on the nod. "What appears to have happened is that it was assessed for its relevance to a marketing strategy. We are trying to aim for the younger market, but we know we ignore at our peril those who are over 30, I'm one myself."

English mercenaries in the Thirty Years War called it their Dutch courage. When William of Orange (Protestant) became king and banned the import of French (Catholic) brandy, the gin craze became an epidemic. At its mid-18th century peak, when Hogarth drew Gin Lane's gutter-strewn, debauched mothers, one London house in five was said to be a gin shop. Sir Robert Walpole, one-time Home Secretary, called it "one of life's only earthly pleasures".

# Students back grants overhaul

Gary Young and Kate Connolly

**S**TUDENTS last night abandoned their long-standing campaign for full funding through a system of grants after a passionate debate at their annual conference in Blackpool.

The Blairite wing of the National Union of Students argued successfully for a new system of funding which would rely on a mixture of support from taxpayers, businesses and a fairer system of student loans. It won the first key vote by a comfortable majority after a debate described on both sides as a "battle for the soul of the union".

"This is a victory for common sense," said the retiring president, Jim Murphy.

A previous attempt to change the union's policy failed at a special conference in Derby last year.

During the debate the Blairites accused those on the left and centre of the union, who defended the policy of indulging in rhetoric. "Rhetoric doesn't pay the bills and students can't eat slogans," said the president-elect, Douglas Trainer.

estly the most vulnerable people in society? If you think so, you look the homeless or a resident on an NHS waiting list in the eye and tell them that."

The left's defeated presidential candidate, Clive Lewis, said abandoning the policy would be against the interest of the poorest students. "Your so-called realism will create yet another barrier to those struggling to enter higher education. This vote will determine where the next generation puts its commitments," he said.

Grants have been reduced by 20 per cent in two years and the loan facility increased by an identical amount. More than two thirds of students are in debt, according to a report by the National Westminster Bank.

The average amount owed by those under 21 is £1,548; those aged 22-28, £4,301; and mature students, £7,817.

Mr Trainer, aged 35, said the policy change would make the union's negotiating position credible. "I don't think it will make it any easier for any government; what it will do is give me a seat at the table with other interested parties with a policy that I can defend."

Trainer, president of NUS Scotland, took the national presidency after the first round of preference votes by 536 to 458.

# Cambodia gunmen seize Briton

Nicholas Cumming-Brace in Bangkok and Angella Johnson

**C**AMBODIAN gunmen yesterday seized a British de-mining expert and his local team near the north-western provincial capital of Siem Reap, the country's main tourist destination.

Christopher Howes, aged 36, a former sapper from Bristol, was working with an interpreter and 27 Cambodian de-miners north of the famous Angkor Wat temple complex when the heavily armed gunmen struck at about 9.30am.

Mr Howes, employed as a specialist for the Mines Advisory Group (MAG), a British-based charity, has been helping to train civilians in the detection and destruction of anti-personnel landmines.

Six of the Cambodian staff made their escape, apparently by running through a minefield and contacting workers on a United Nations aid project.

MAG's director in London said the Cambodian government, the British embassy

## Hostages

Other Britons being held abroad:  
□ Kashmir, India: Keith Morgan, 34, of Middlesbrough and Paul Wells, 23, of London — seized on July 4 1995 by members of Al Faran, a previously unknown Kashmiri separatist group.

□ Irian Jaya, Indonesia: Daniel Start, 21, of London; Bill Oates, 22, of Jeddburgh, in the Borders; Anna McIvor, 29, of Bournemouth; Annette van der Kolk, 21, of Fleet, Hants (all Cambridge University graduates) — seized on January 8 by members of the OPM Free Papua Movement.

and the UN were helping with negotiations for all the hostages' release. "We would like to affirm that our de-mining operation in Cambodia will continue," he said.

The Cambodian co-prime minister, Prince Norodom

## Charity Commissioners curb animal campaigns

Continued from page 1  
responsible charity, we must now accept human needs are paramount."

Officials claim a "robust" redrafting of its policies and a drive to double its 26,000 membership could offer solutions.

The first casualty of the ruling has been a campaign against the British-financed use of chimpanzees for vivisection in Holland.

Two other high-profile causes are now open to legal challenge — the anti-hunting and live exports campaigns.

Several keynote publications face the axe in their present forms and the membership ban on intensive farming in place since 1980, is also in doubt.

## Government troops are reported to have moved quickly into the area after reports of the abduction. But the gunmen appear to have left, taking two MAG vehicles, radios and other equipment.

Mr Howes, who has worked as a de-miner in Kuwait and Iraq Kurdistan, arrived in Cambodia in November, only moving to Siem Reap in January to set up operations in the province.

In 1993, Khmer Rouge guerrillas seized and later released another British de-miner working for the Halo Trust. But yesterday's abduction was the first involving a foreigner since 1994, when Khmer Rouge elements seized seven Westerners, three of them British. Only one, an American woman aid worker, returned alive.

The abduction coincides with a government offensive against Khmer Rouge strongholds near the Thai border. Last week they occupied Pailin, a shelled-out town of symbolic importance as a gateway to gem- and timber-rich areas hitherto controlled by Pol Pot.

## Charity Commissioners curb animal campaigns

complain that the RSPCA should be allowed to welfare, and should not campaign outside that remit, and that it should not be allowed to stop anyone joining just because they did not agree with its policies.

At the same time, the movement's close ally, the British Field Sports Society, urged members to join the RSPCA and change it.

A hundred applications have been arriving daily and the total is now about 2,000. The first 100 were in time to confer voting rights for the society's annual meeting in June.

Richard Ryder, chairman of the RSPCA's public relations and campaigns committee, commented: "I am very concerned and I can only appeal for people to join the RSPCA to head off this influx of blood sport enthusiasts."

Mr McCall dismisses in his advice that the RSPCA could stop being a charity. It would need parliamentary approval and even then the assets would still be governed by charity law because that was how they were amassed.

# Over 75% of business people listen to Commercial Radio.

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# 4 BEEF CRISIS

Birds Eye and British Airways join boycott as meat workers laid off

## Countrywide slaughter is only answer, say farmers

Barbie Duthart and Stuart Miller

**F**ARMERS' leaders yesterday demanded a special slaughter scheme to remove older cattle from the food chain as escalating confusion and plummeting consumer confidence brought the beef industry down further.

With upwards of 800,000 older cows going to abattoirs each year, the NFU estimated that compensation payments could amount to £700 million.

The NFU said the move, although not warranted on the basis of scientific evidence, was the only way to restore consumer confidence in British beef. It is the first time the body has allowed consumer pressure to outweigh scientific advice on the issue.

NFU president Sir David Nash said: "The events of the past week show that we have gone beyond the stage of relying solely on science. The Government must take immediate action because the steps announced so far have failed to restore confidence among consumers."

The frozen food giant Birds Eye declared that it too was bowing to consumer pressure and halting the production of beefburgers.

British Airways announced that it would no longer serve beef to child passengers. Abattoir and meat workers faced redundancy as business collapsed at slaughter houses and cattle markets across the country.

The National Farmers Union proposal, already presented to the Government, would result in the removal of all older cattle. Around 12,000-15,000 dairy cows which are slaughtered every week would be incinerated rather than used in meat products, with the farmers receiving full compensation.

Sheep sales have risen by 29 per cent, while pig sales are up 10 per cent. The ABP abattoir in Hordley, Shropshire axed 57 jobs. Midland Meat Packers of Crick, Northamptonshire, sent 150 workers on holiday for two weeks.

Farmers from across south-east England are threatening to descend on Westminster tomorrow in a French-style demonstration if the Government does not introduce compensation measures.

Around 2,000 farmers are expected to attend a meeting at South East Marts, one of the region's biggest livestock auctioneers, in Guildford tomorrow. No cattle were sold yesterday at the market, where around 300 animals are sold on a normal day — a situation which was echoed at marts across the country.

The numbers of cattle sold at auction has slumped by 94 per cent in the last week while the average price has fallen by 23.53p to 97.11p/kg — a drop of 19.5 per cent — according to the figures from the Meat and Livestock Commission.

"In acknowledgement of passenger concerns about BSE and following detailed examination of the current facts, we have adjusted our menus to remove British beef where it is the only choice available," said a spokeswoman. "This includes removing all beef or beef products from all children's meals."

### MPs savour safe steak from duke's guaranteed disease-free Scottish herd



Duke of Buccleuch... offers life history for every carcass

A chef at the House of Commons Refreshment Department, told the Guardian: "For the past 18 months we have ordered virtually all our beef from the Duke of Buccleuch's estate because he can offer us a personal life history for every animal that comes into the kitchen."

"We know there can be no question of any BSE. As a result, beef stays on the menu."

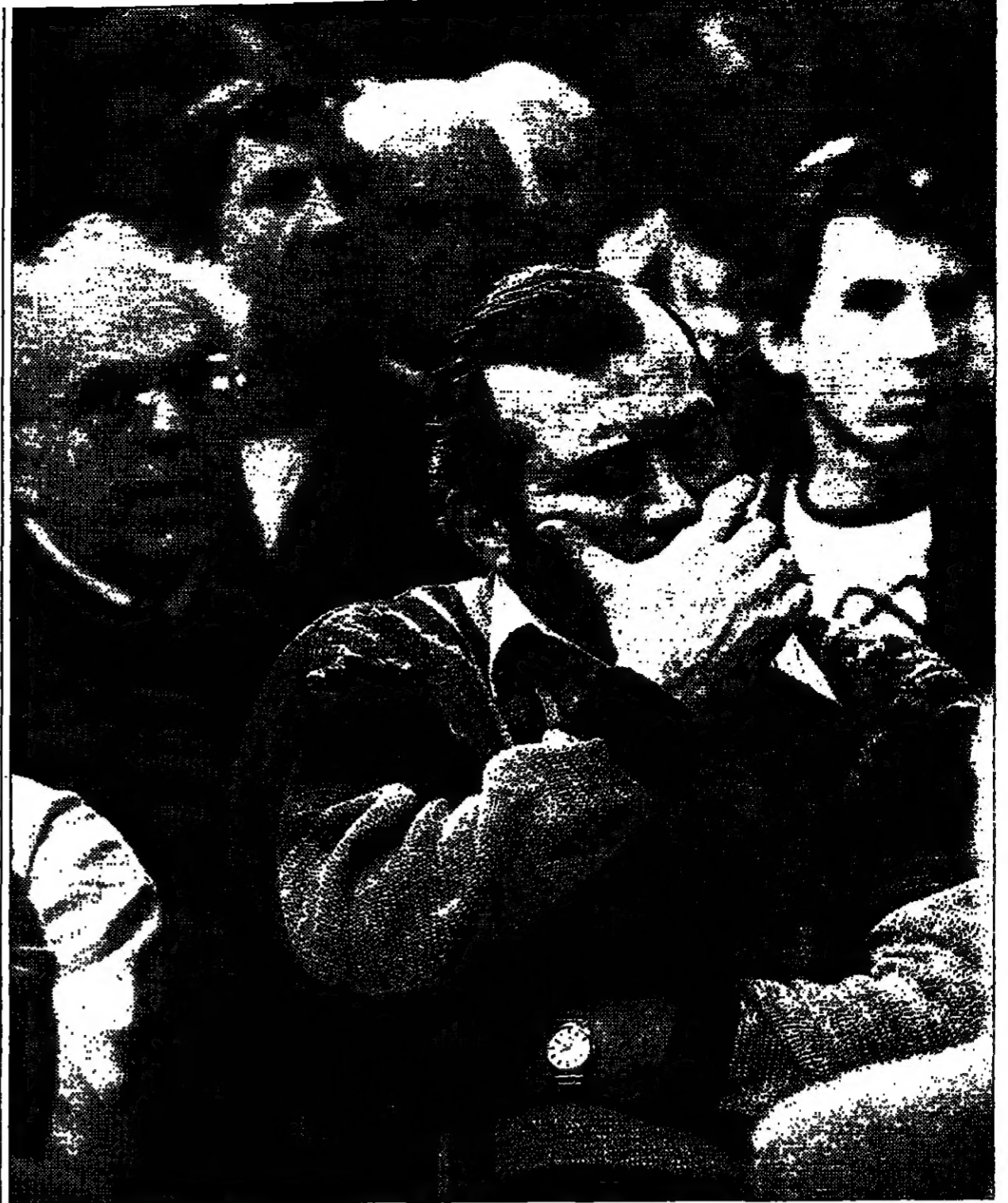
### David Hencke on a Commons perk

**M**INISTERS and MPs can dine on beef safe in the knowledge that every morsel is guaranteed free of BSE by an aristocrat, backed by a 400-year tradition of quality.

While the public has to rely on guarantees from Stephen Dorrell, the Health Secretary, and Douglas Hogg, the Agriculture Minister, MPs sitting down to a meal in the mother of parliaments can be sure that every portion of beef on the menu has come from a steer

whose diet and health have been supervised from birth to the slaughterhouse on an hereditary peer's estate at Dalkeith in Scotland.

The ninth Duke of Buccleuch has scooped 95 per cent of the Houses of Parliament's Refreshment Department's beef order, after promising not only a guaranteed food free of offal products but a healthy life history for every animal raised on his estate.



Farmers listening to NFU officers reporting on the beef crisis at a meeting near York yesterday, where one official said: "Unfortunately, beef is now guilty and we have to prove it is innocent". The 300-strong audience applauded speakers calling for an immediate slaughter policy, as "our customer, the housewife, is terrified"

## Wily Sir Leon fails to halt EU ban

Stephen Bates in Brussels

### Action around the world

**T**HE European Commission's veterinary committee last night rejected its 14-1 vote to ban the export of all British beef and beef products after hearing the supplementary evidence from Sir Kenneth Chalmers, the Government's chief medical officer, that John Major had insisted was vital.

**I**RELAND: The Irish Republic yesterday banned British beef and strengthened border security to stop farmers in Northern Ireland trying to smuggle their cattle southwards.

**HONG KONG:** The government advised frozen beef sellers in the territory to declare the origin of their products before selling it. Hong Kong does not import fresh meat from Britain and said it sourced only 2.3 per cent of its imported frozen beef from the UK.

**EGYPT:** The authorities turned away a third ship carrying Irish cattle, the Irish embassy in Cairo said. An embassy official said about 5,200 cows were now stranded off the city of Alexandria.

But the commission was made to look amiable yesterday when it tried to claim it had never announced a ban was already in place on Monday night. Franz Fischler, the agriculture commissioner, who announced on Monday evening that a decision had been taken to suspend the ban, jumped the gun — assuming the ban was signed and sealed without checking first if it was accepted by Mr Kinnoch and Sir Leon, the only two commissioners who refused to support it.

**FRANCE:** One hundred cows were slaughtered in Brittany under the French policy of destroying the entire herd as soon as one animal shows symptoms of BSE. This brought the total number of slaughters to 300 since the beginning of this year and about 700 since the first French cases, in 1991.

**GERMANY:** The agriculture ministry of Brandenburg state ordered the slaughter of 49 British cattle to ensure they would not spread the disease. The federal government has asked the regional states to

decide the ban on a straight majority vote, with no indication anyone other than the British might oppose. Mr Kinnoch was said to be considering his position last night, anxious that there should be a full and fair debate before the matter is decided.

He had assumed the ban could be imposed through the signed endorsement of commissioners — but that procedure has to be unanimous. Mr Fischler, who spent most of Monday in Austria, returned to Brussels only in mid-afternoon and did not consider that his British colleagues might have reservations.

— undoubtedly after consultation with Sir Leon, the European Commission's agriculture minister — phoned commission president Jacques Santer and demanded a stay of execution. Mr Santer was obliged to accept, knowing the ban could not be agreed until today's weekly meeting.

However, uncertainty remains over how far the commission could insist on a worldwide ban. Britain — and Sir Leon, the trade commissioner — argue the EU cannot dictate where it trades with other countries (though most potential markets have already banned British beef).

Whether we swing into action or whether the EU would do it, we just don't know. It would be very complicated," a ministry spokesman said.

...in the THREE MONTHS UP TO THE END of December 1995, 1,033,568 patients were waiting for up to 11 months, and 20,809 for between 12 and 17 months.

THESE FIGURES REPRESENTED BY HEALTH CARE DELIVERED 17th February 1996.

"Patients who cannot accept an offered admission date are said to be self-deferred and returned to the bottom of the in-patient WAITING LIST."

(SOURCE: "Waiting Times: Measuring the Trust, Parliamentary Paper, by Trevor Smith, HC 268, British Medical Journal, 304, 1994)

...Waiting LISTS DO NOT always arise through mismanagement of resources, they arise because resources are inadequate."

(SOURCE: "Waiting Times for Elective Treatment: Why are they increasing and how can they be reduced?", Clinical Commissioning Group, 1994)

**"THE HOSPITALS YOU CAN HAVE A BED STRAIGHT AWAY."**

## Ministers' record in the scare

Michael White and Patrick Wintour

**W**HEN scientists on SEAC, the advisory committee on BSE-related diseases, told the Government last week that there may after all be a link between BSE — mad cow disease — in cattle and rare cases of CJD in human beings, ministers knew they would have to inform the public and tighten controls on the food chain. But did they handle the crisis well?

Having Mr Dorrell and the Agriculture Minister, Douglas Hogg, both make Commons statements was a mistake. It upped the public anxiety level.

Europe took umbrage too? Yes. The EU has legitimate claims to want to isolate the problem area, Britain, but trade and politics also play a role. John Major's Eurosceptic government has few friends in such wheeler-dealing. Worse, Mr Hogg had sent his junior, Tony Baldry, to the monthly meeting of farm ministers 48 hours before the crisis. He didn't mention BSE.

Was Mr Hogg's hint at mass slaughter last weekend overruled by the Chancellor, Kenneth Clarke, on cost grounds? Clarke was not alone in arguing that to spend billions against scientific advice would be foolish. Market forces have changed their minds.

Should ministers have acted more quickly on SEAC's new warning? Ministers acted quickly by Whitehall standards. SEAC met on Saturday March 16, and the Health Secretary, Stephen Dorrell, was told, as was John Major, the following Monday. SEAC met again on late into Tuesday night. It delivered its advice to ministers at 10.30 next morning — by which time the Daily Mirror had broken the story. MPs were informed at 3.30pm.

Did Health and Agriculture send conflicting messages? Probably. Mr Dorrell, instinctively cautious, became more robust as the crisis deepened. But in his initial Commons statement, he gave the impression that Britain might be on the verge of an epidemic. Mr Hogg has been criticised for openly raising the prospect of a mass cull of older cattle in TV interviews on Sunday. Yet it was not the Government but SEAC sources which triggered dramatic stories about the option of slaughtering all 11 million cattle.

Has the Government been undermined by an irresponsible Opposition? Harriet Harman has pulled few punches, clearly siding with the consumer rather than the beef producers. The shadow health secretary may have caused some private unease with Gavin Strang (shadow agriculture) who has been running a long-term campaign to re-position Labour as the party of the rural interest. With their strong rural base, Liberal Democrats also faced dilemma, but swung behind a mass slaughter once the National Farmers Union demanded one.

Was Mr Hogg's hint at mass slaughter last weekend overruled by the Chancellor, Kenneth Clarke, on cost grounds? Clarke was not alone in arguing that to spend billions against scientific advice would be foolish. Market forces have changed their minds.

Should ministers have said more at that stage — or less? Yes. Ministers initially could not say if children were more at risk. And at first they rejected slaughter calls. Both omissions added to consumer fears. Ministers hid behind scientific advice which, after years of misjudgment, the public mistrusted.

But key uncertainties were left unanswered on Day 1? Yes. Ministers initially could not say if children were more at risk. And at first they rejected slaughter calls. Both omissions added to consumer fears. Ministers hid behind scientific advice which, after years of misjudgment, the public mistrusted.

Did the scientists also expect ministers to go further than

Isn't this government supposed to champion market forces? Yes. Yet ministers have chosen to back experts against "mad" public opinion. The Tory magic touch — simple slogans that voters understand — have also been absent. Eating Beef? It's Safer Than Crossing the Road.

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Pressure from the US and its G-7 allies linked to Russian policy concessions wins a \$10bn IMF loan

# West gives Yeltsin a boost



Yeltsin: Policies frequently infuriate Washington

**Martin Walker in Washington**

**T**HE International Monetary Fund was meeting last night to give final approval to a \$10.5-billion credit facility for Russia, of which more than \$1 billion should be disbursed before President Boris Yeltsin faces re-election in June.

Although the American, British and other Western governments insist that they support the democratic process in Russia rather than a specific candidate, the credit is by far the most potent evidence of a Western preference for Mr Yeltsin's re-election.

"Most Western governments would say that that Yeltsin has continued the reform process in the right direction, despite great pressures," a senior diplomatic source said yesterday.

"To the extent that Yeltsin represents a process we support, a process which we think is in the best interests of the Russian people and of the West, we support him."

With strong but discreet backing from the White House and other G-7 governments, the IMF staff and management committee recommended yesterday to the executive board that the Russian request for the extended fund facility should be accepted.

Traditionally, the board en-

dorses such recommendations and Russian diplomatic sources said the loan was "absolutely assured".

The recommendation was finally made after a series of trade and economic concessions by Moscow. These ranged from cutting import tariffs and taxes on oil and gas exports to closing tax loopholes and maintaining the annual \$600 million purchase of US frozen poultry.

Much of the poultry comes from the Tyson Foods corporation of Arkansas, a cause close to Mr Clinton's heart.

Financial matters apart, the US has repeatedly been infuriated by Mr Yeltsin and senior members of his government. The features it most

dislikes are Russian objections to the enlargement of Nato, the clumsy brutality of the war in Chechnya, the sale of advanced weaponry and nuclear technology to Iran, and the rough rhetoric about the restoration of the boundaries of the old Soviet Union.

When concern about Mr Yeltsin's health was at its height, senior US policy-makers were musing whether a new campaign by a visibly sick president would be in Russia's best interests. Mr Yeltsin's recovery and his rise in the Russian opinion polls have given some reassurance that he has a decent chance of re-election.

The other options — the Communist Party leader Gen-

nady Zyuganov, or more remotely, the nationalist Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, are far more worrying to Mr Clinton and his Western allies.

IMF officials insisted yesterday that the loan was made "on the basis of an economic programme, not on political considerations", and that Russia had carried out most of the promises it had made to Western financial institutions.

Tax and tariff rates had been amended in accordance with IMF recommendations, including one oil and gas tax loophole which IMF officials saw as a blatant way to enrich friends of the prime minister, Viktor Chernomyrdin.

## World news in brief

### Afghan warplanes bomb rebel bases

AFGHAN government jets bombed rebel positions south and west of the capital Kabul yesterday, killing up to 50 people.

A defence ministry official told reporters that 20 people were also wounded as the planes attacked a building at Charasyab base, 15 miles south of Kabul, where commanders of the Taliban Islamic militia were meeting to discuss plans for their war on the government.

Earlier, forces loyal to President Burhanuddin Rabbani were also reported to have shelled Charasyab.

The government attacks came amid rumours that the government would soon launch an offensive to drive the Taliban out of artillery range of the city, which the militia has vowed to take. — *Reuters, Kabul.*

### Palme suspect fingered

SWEDISH media yesterday once again alleged that a Swede tried and cleared of the assassination of the prime minister, Olof Palme, 10 years ago was responsible for the murder.

Swedish television said it had been in touch with two people who said that Christer Pettersson, now 48, had told them he shot Palme, who was killed in 1986 as he returned home from the cinema with his wife.

Swedish newspapers picked up the trail, repeating the allegations against Mr Pettersson, cleared of the killing in 1988 by a Stockholm appeal court.

Mr Pettersson pleaded not guilty at his trial and has always denied he assassinated Palme. He was not available for comment.

New speculation about Mr Pettersson's role in the killing emerged last month with the evidence of a dying gambling club owner, Sigge Cedergren, who said he gave a pistol to Mr Pettersson shortly before Palme was killed. The weapon was similar to the type of gun used. — *Reuters, Stockholm.*

### US police confront Freeman

THE US government triggered a new confrontation with America's right-wing militia movement yesterday, as federal agents moved in on a cell of armed radicals who refuse to recognise the authority of the United States.

US marshals, state police and FBI agents surrounded a remote compound in Helena, Montana, which has been occupied for months by the Freeman, a militant anti-government group which refuses to pay taxes and threatens to shoot any official who tries to arrest members.

The stand-off escalated dramatically on Monday, when FBI agents ambushed two leaders of the faction, LeRoy Schweitzer and Daniel Peterson were arrested in the tiny town of Brusett, where they had gone to pick up their post, and were charged yesterday.

Now officials are urging the remaining Freeman to abandon their siege. The militants insist they have their own laws and courts in their compound, a 380-acre wheat farm. In previous court appearances, they have threatened state officials and judges. — *Jonathan Freedland, Washington.*

### Mine rescuers killed

TEN rescuers trying to save a trapped miner were killed in a rockfall at a South African coal mine yesterday.

The mine company Iscor Ltd said all 10 members of the rescue team died and the fate of the man trapped at Tshikondeni mine in Northern Province was unknown.

Air force helicopters evacuated seven people and recovered four bodies from the mine.

The deaths bring to at least 23 the numbers of miners killed in South African coal and gold mines in the past two months. — *Reuters, Johannesburg.*

### More women 'should govern'

MANY people believe that if more women were in government their countries would be better governed, but most prefer a man to be their boss, according to a US poll released yesterday.

The International Gallup Poll of 32 countries also revealed that only six showed majorities in favour of a "traditional" family structure where only one parent worked. The United States, France and Japan were among the most conservative. — *Reuters, New York.*

## Troops attack rebel villages

David Hearst in Moscow

**R**USSIAN forces fighting rebels for control of Chechnya yesterday began a blitzkrieg bombardment of forces loyal to Dzhokhar Dudayev in villages to the east and southwest of Grozny. Meanwhile, President Boris Yeltsin, on a state visit to Norway, announced that large-scale operations would stop before the presidential election in June.

However, there was no sign of consensus on what stopping large-scale operations would mean. Senior defence sources quoted yesterday said Mr Yeltsin's plan was to withdraw all units to Dagestan and Ingushetia, on the Chechen borders, and keep them there in readiness "until the summer".

Army and interior ministry generals have warned about the dangers of a unilateral withdrawal, which they feel has nothing to do with military strategy and everything to do with organising the best conditions for Mr Yeltsin's re-election.

In a speech to parliament, General Anatoli Kulikov called Chechnya a "knot of criminality" and warned that forces loyal to Moscow's placeman, Doku Zavgayev, would be massacred without Russia's protection.

Yesterday General Pavel Grachev, the Russian defence minister, said "special operations" in Chechnya, led first by police, would continue to destroy bandit groups.

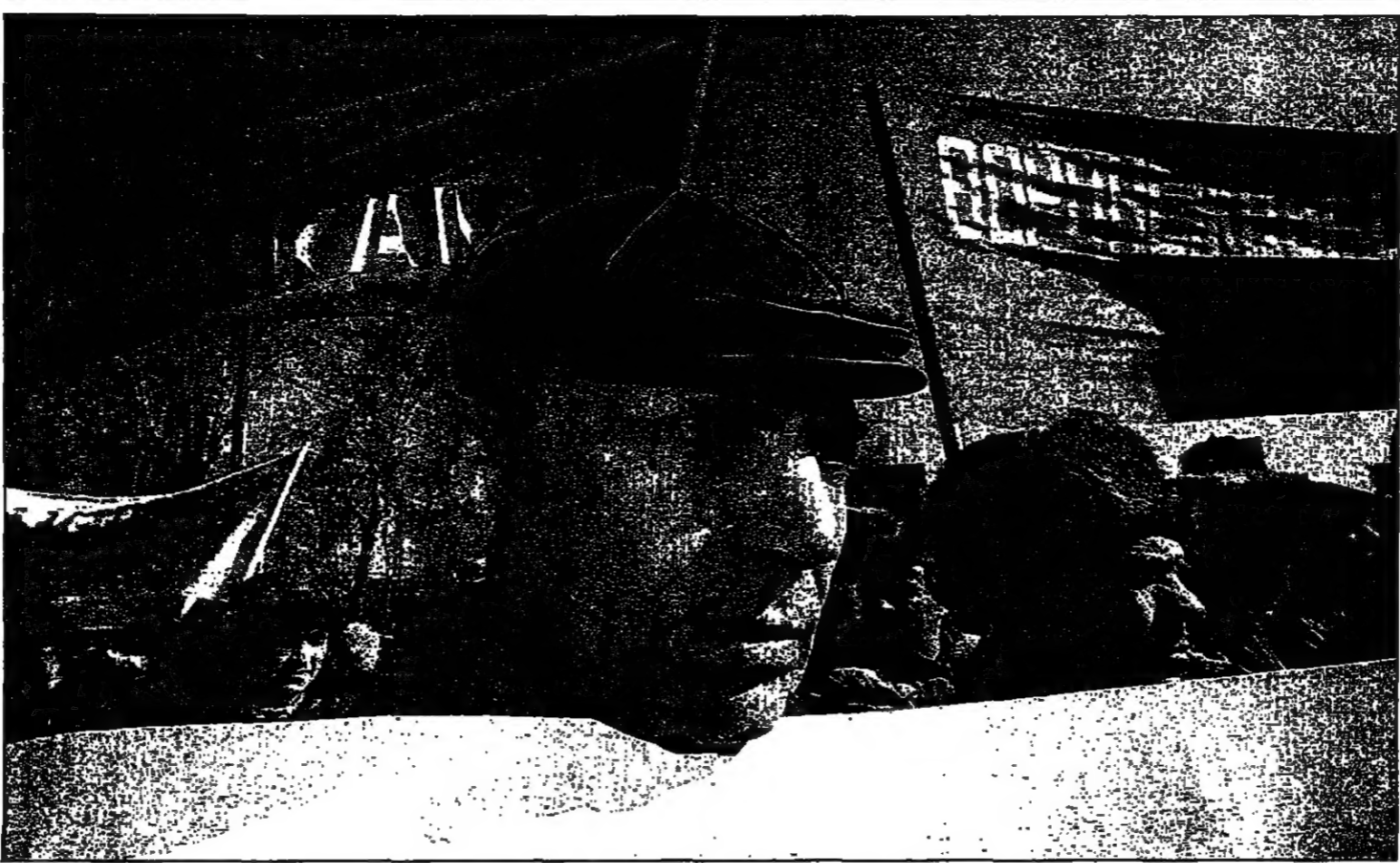
Mr Yeltsin's policy in Chechnya is in total disarray. He is caught between the conflicting needs of having to satisfy his army and appease the Russian electorate, with whom the 15-month conflict is deeply unpopular.

Russian forces — with *carte blanche* from the Kremlin to attack Chechen villages until the end of the month — were reported to be continuing operations against Bamtut, Arichkova and Old Achol. Operations against Chechen fighters holding out in Grozny also continued.

A report by the Organisation for Security and Co-operation in Europe says Russian soldiers in Chechnya have used excessive force against civilians, and engaged in robbery, looting and arson.

The report also criticised the rebels for systematic hostage-taking in recent weeks.

**Leader comment, page 8**



Wage cap... Russian farmers picket the main government building in Moscow yesterday to demand unpaid salaries. PHOTOGRAPH: ALEXANDER ZHILANICHENKO

## Europe's Scandinavian new dawn fades

The Swedes feel cheated and even the Europhile Finns are wary of a single currency. But, writes **Greg McIvor** in Stockholm, while its neighbours repent, Norway, which stayed out, is sitting pretty

Brussels has led the prime minister, Gro Harlem Brundtland, explicitly to rule out another plebiscite on Europe at least until the next century.

In Sweden, which narrowly voted in favour of membership in 1994, discontent with the fruits of entry has burgeoned almost from day one of membership. Barely a quarter of the electorate would vote Yes today and talk of replacing the krona by a common European currency arouses deep public antipathy.

The inter-governmental agreement has failed to capture attention and only 18 per cent of Swedes say they have heard of the event.

A 12 million kronor (£1.2 million) campaign to promote awareness of the IGC through publicly funded courses has topped badly, with some districts unable to spend the money because of lack of interest.

"Europe is about the 14th or 15th most important issue in people's lives at the moment," said Toivo Siironen of the polling institute Sifo.

He added that many felt duped by the pro-EU campaign, which promised lower interest rates and more jobs if Sweden joined the union.

As in Norway, events have

defied the forecasts. Unemployment remains at record levels and interest rates are still substantially above those elsewhere in Europe.

Food prices, predicted to fall by up to 10 per cent due to increased competition, rose slightly in the aftermath of entry and today remain high.

In Finland, by contrast, food prices fell by 10 per cent — due largely to the fact that farmers were less prepared for the impact of competition than their Swedish counterparts.

"Food prices are the major factor behind the EU's popularity. Consumers can see a

benefit in their pockets," said a Finnish diplomat.

As the most Europhile of the Nordic states, Finland is also the most enthusiastic about economic and monetary union. The coalition led by prime minister Paavo Lipponen's Social Democrats strongly backs the idea and

rumours have circulated that Finland is soon to join the EU exchange rate mechanism.

But despite a pro-European public, support for a common currency is patchy. A recent survey suggested only 24 per cent were in favour of the plan, with 43 per cent against.

Opposition to EMU is even more deep-rooted in Sweden, where the ruling Social Democrats are bitterly divided on the issue. Many observers believe it is the biggest single threat to the party and some have warned of a split if it is forced through.

Meanwhile, in Denmark EMU participation is one of several opt-outs engineered to persuade Danes to ratify the Maastricht treaty in 1993.

The prime minister, Poul Nyrup Rasmussen, has warned that any attempt by member states to dilute them would have to be endorsed by a new referendum.

Privately, some Danish ministers believe EMU could confer important economic advantages but they are hampered by public opinion.

One official said: "The problem for the Social Democrats and for Denmark as a whole is that we are split down the middle on Europe and have been ever since we decided to join in 1972."

tion failed to materialise.

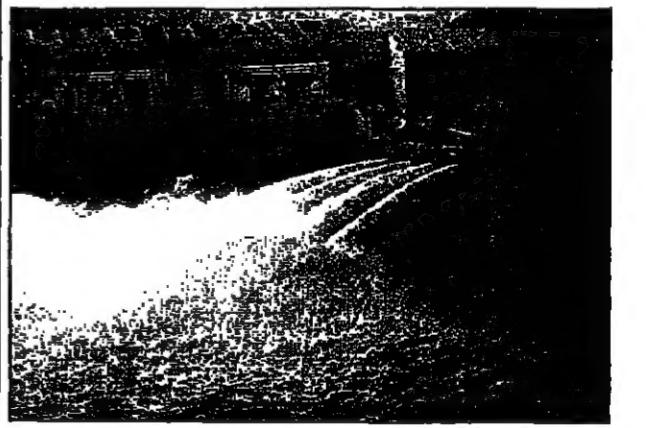
Diverting warnings from the government and industry that thousands of jobs would be lost and the economy undermined by refusing to join have been baldly contradicted by events.

Buoyed by booming fish and oil exports, Norway's economy is one of Europe's strongest. Threats by big companies to shift production to adjacent EU markets have so far proved mere bluster.

"The establishment told us that investment would fall, the currency would weaken and interest rates would rise. Precisely the opposite has occurred," said Kjell-Erik Kallset, of Norway's Nei till EU movement.

The depth of resistance to

Europe's Future



First flush... Water pours from the bottom of the Glen Canyon Dam in Arizona yesterday. Officials are creating a controlled flood in the Grand Canyon to manage sediment and other environmental aspects. PHOTOGRAPH: JEFF ROSSIGNA

### Kashmir militants withdraw

ARMED militants began to withdraw last night from Kashmir's holiest shrine, ending a three-day confrontation with police that had threatened to derail New Delhi's plans to hold general elections in the valley.

Seventeen of those who occupied the Hazratbal mosque in Srinagar on Sunday after a gun battle in which at least 10 people died left with their weapons after dark, guaranteed safe passage. An unknown number remained inside. — *Suzanne Goldenberg, New Delhi.*

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**The leaders of the EU gather in Turin on Friday to discuss increased European integration and expansion to the east. But visions of the future diverge wildly. On these pages, the main arguments of the debate are explored in the context of the EU's history and the challenges ahead**



**Leonard Doyle on how the EU came into being**

**Britain fails to cloud a vision**

**C**HARLEMAGNE and Napoleon both tried and failed to unify Europe by the sword, but it was Adolf Hitler who provided the catalyst for what is now the European Union.

After the second world war several factors combined to push Western Europe towards unity: fear of the Soviet Union, the need for reconstruction while preventing another war, and awareness of American might.

America's Marshall aid plan began reconstruction and helped promote freer trade but it was a former French brandy salesman in Britain, Jean Monnet, who prepared the way for European union.

Monnet, a member of France's postwar government, proposed that the iron and steel industries — both then central to a nation's ability to wage war — be taken from national control and put under an independent authority.

The European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) turned France and Germany from enemies into partners. It opened for business on August 10, 1952, but then, as now, Britain could not see itself as European.

An enduring feature of European integration is how successive British governments have tried and failed to prevent Europe from unifying, only to cut a deal in the end. France and Germany's alliance has long outlived predictions of its early demise.

The Europeans got on with creating a new breed of international organisation, headed by a decision-making secretariat.

Paris was euphoric about the ECSC — it wanted to press on with closer political integration. Military co-ordination was next. Against the background of the Korean War, talks about the creation of a European army proceeded.

Again, Britain stayed on the sidelines, as a treaty for a European Defence Community was concluded in 1952. But France's Gaullist and Communist opposition refused to ratify the agreement and the Defence Community was stillborn.

The shock persuaded Monnet that the path to unity lay with economic integration. He began lobbying for a United States of Europe.

With Britain staying away again, talks began in Messina in 1955. The resulting Treaty of Rome — signed on March 25, 1957 — brought into being the European Economic Community (EEC), dedicated to creating a common market.

A key aspect was that the elimination of trade barriers and establishment of a common external tariff would occur with common institutions. As Britain's Eurosceptics ruefully point out, these have now taken on a life of their own. Member states are bound by all the rules of the club, not just those they like and, utopian as it sounds, the goal of "ever closer union" is in the rulebook.

From its beginning in 1957 the EEC was a roaring success, but protectionism was also allowed to grow with the Common Agricultural Policy.

In 1961, Britain acknowledged it had backed the wrong horse in setting up the European Free Trade Association (EFTA), and applied to join. France's president, Charles de Gaulle, vetoed the move.

Britain, Ireland and Denmark eventually joined the EEC in 1973. But before long

**In 1961, Britain acknowledged it had backed the wrong horse**

Margaret Thatcher, as Prime Minister, began her battle over Britain's EEC contribution — a problem only resolved in 1994.

The Single European Act which came into effect in 1993 completed the internal market — the first time a British initiative had taken hold. But there was a price for ensuring the freedom of goods, people, services and capital needed. Preventing gridlock in the Council of Ministers meant more majority voting was required, and with it the surrender of more sovereignty.

By the time of the 1991 Maastricht conference, which established the European Union, Britain's instinctive scepticism was brushed aside as ambitious plans for monetary union by 1999 were drawn up.

Maastricht did not deal with the historical opportunity which has presented itself of really uniting Europe, by enlarging the number of member states to as many as 27.

Britain's wish to bring in the former communist states of Eastern Europe as quickly as possible must now be balanced against the need to have an EU that works. More qualified majority voting is obviously in order.

The cause of closer European union is the cause of democratic reform of the British state, social progress and an effective system of rights and freedoms, writes **John Palmer** in Brussels

**The argument in favour**

**I**T IS difficult to conceive of a more tragic or revealing metaphor for the isolation of the British government and the suspicion with which it is regarded by its European partners than that provided by the ESE crisis.

The shadow of ESE will hang dark over the launch in Turin on Friday of the EU conference to review the Maastricht treaty.

From the moment it joined the European Community in 1973, Britain has all too often found itself out of step with everyone else.

While most other countries end up in a minority within the union's councils from time to time, Britain has managed to be a minority a way of life.

The failure of British ministers to consult the EU in advance of the devastating announcement about the possible links between BSE and CJD is regarded as all too typical of the arrogant and unaccountable club of nation states which London generally displays towards the union.

Attitudes to the British were not always so jaundiced. The rest of the EU was reluctant to write off the Tory government even under Margaret Thatcher as irredeemably unwilling to join the club, let alone as an inveterate wreck.

The last time a British leader was able to cash in on the dwindling fund of goodwill for Britain was during the Maastricht treaty negotiations in the early 1990s. Then, against their better judgment, the others conceded to Britain "opt outs" from key common goals, notably workers' rights and the single currency.

This attitude of bemused tolerance for British obstruction in the EU is now giving way to a steady determination that the rest of Europe should no longer be sacrificed to Tory party's wars of religion over Europe.

John Major and his colleagues will learn the hard way during the course of the treaty review conference that the rest of the EU would prefer to postpone an agreement than to sign up to one dictated from London.

If this means that Germany's chancellor, Helmut Kohl, France's president, Jacques Chirac, and the rest simply have to sit on their hands until the Tories are removed from office, that is what will happen.



Reform of the Maastricht treaty is essential. The right answer is a legal and political mess which sought to mould together contradictory visions of the future. On the one hand, the treaty promised continued evolution towards a decentralised, democratic federation of nation states; "an ever closer union of the peoples of Europe".

At its heart this involves maintaining the Commission's sole right to make public legislative proposals, reserving great weight in the Council of Ministers, having law-making powers shared more equally between the Council and the elected European Parliament and ensuring a system of union-wide law adjudicated by the European Court of Justice.

At the same time, the Maastricht treaty also entrenched a quite different system of "inter-governmental" decision-making. This is legal jargon for the secretive and unaccountable club of nation states which can act collectively in crucial policy areas such as foreign and security affairs, justice, police co-operation and internal security.

The truth is that precious little ever gets decided where unanimity, rather than majority voting, is the rule and where policy making is shaped by the lowest common denominator of national interest.

The consequences of this failure to act can be seen from Bosnia to the treatment of asylum seekers and the fight against unemployment. The incoherence of the current approach also makes a mockery of parliamentary accountability and deepens the already worrying gulf between European decision makers and voters.

Reform of the EU institutions is a vital political reason. The present system was built for the six founding countries of the EU 40 years ago, and is now stretched to breaking point. But the step-by-step expansion of the union to most of central and eastern Europe — as well as Cyprus and Malta — is now only a matter of time.

To try to run a European Union with 30 or more members under the present constitution is to invite paralysis, and a possible eventual implosion.

In this context, the real criticism to be made of the

process beginning in Turin is that, far from being too ambitious, it will set its sights dangerously low.

As far as the other 14 countries are concerned, the IGC is about the minimum of reforms needed to keep the show on the road until enlargement makes more radical change unavoidable in a few years' time.

Neither the Commission nor the EU as a whole is seeking powers in new policy areas. What the reformers want is a more effective, democratic and open system of decision-making in those areas where the EU is already responsible.

Displaying a bizarre capacity to abuse the meaning of words, this is described by Tory — and other — Eurosceptics as constructing "a centralised Euro-superstate".

This kind of talk may still evoke a sympathetic echo in the Home Counties, but it is ridiculed in Scotland, in Wales and increasingly in the English regions.

A centralised superstate does exist: it is called the United Kingdom and it is directed not from Brussels but from London.

This is why the cause of closer European union is the cause of democratic reform of the British state — a Bill of Rights, a written constitution, freedom of information laws, electoral reform, and self government for Scotland, Wales and the English regions.

As a growing army of British beneficiaries of EU laws and European Court rulings

**Stephen Bates on Turin's challenges**

**Grand vision toned down**

**T**HE choice of a renovated Fiat car factory in Turin for Friday's meeting to launch the inter-governmental conference (IGC) strikes some observers as symbolic.

A modernised structure will emerge from the old framework, they say. Alternatively — bearing in mind the old test track on the roof — there will just be a recycling of new models which go round in circles.

Nothing will be decided this week. There will be pageantry, ceremonial and a desultory general chat at the conference centre into which the factory has been converted — another potential metaphor for modern Europe — before prime ministers, chancellors and presidents depart.

In the afternoon there will be a brief meeting of foreign ministers to start laying out the parameters of negotiations which everyone expects to stretch into the middle of next year.

In June 1997 the IGC should eventually culminate at a meeting in Amsterdam — the Dutch will hold the EU's rotating presidency when the negotiations are concluded, just as they did in December 1991 when the Maastricht treaty was agreed.

But no one knows who

will be in office by then. Susanna Agnelli, Italy's 73-year-old foreign minister — and a member of the family which made its fortune from Fiat cars — almost certainly will not be in Turin. It may not be either. That is what heads of government mean when they look to the conference lasting beyond the British election, in the hope of a more pliant Labour government. But, given the moderately sceptical noises from Labour's leadership, they may be disappointed.

When the IGC was laid down in the Maastricht treaty four years ago, the agenda was expected to be somewhat different: a more

gun-ho drive towards economic and monetary union, greater integration and enlargement.

Now, following recession, the turmoil of the EMU and the anguish in securing ratification for the treaty, the agenda is more circumspect — even if the rhetoric is not. It is nonsense to suppose what will emerge after a year of talks is the grand vision of Germany's chancellor, Helmut Kohl, of a Europe with a united economic, defence and foreign policy.

The details of the revised treaty at the core of the IGC will be hammered out by officials in Brussels, with oversight from foreign ministers and six-monthly checks from heads of government. Britain's representative at the discussions will be Stephen Wall, the quiet mandarin who is our ambassador to the EU and was once a highly valued member of the Downing Street machine during Margaret Thatcher's tenure.

The main issues concern the structure and institutions of the EU as it prepares for enlargement to include the states of eastern Europe. The IGC will not be about monetary union — that was decided at Maastricht — nor will it concern itself with agriculture and regional policy, arguably



More flagpoles needed... Arguments for reform of EU structures are based on its inevitable expansion

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	18.9%	£116.33	£5,583.84		16.9%	£197.40	£9,475.20	
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\*Rates are correct as at 18/03/96. †The rates quoted are for new customers. Existing customers may be eligible for a different rate.

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1991 Maastricht

The most important step in the history of the community to date. The Maastricht Treaty was designed to create an ever closer union among the peoples of Europe...

Foreign and monetary union, at the time by 1992, and provided for the development of foreign and defence policies.

1995

Austria, Finland and Sweden finally accede to membership of the EU, but Norway says 'no' in a referendum to the delight of its fishermen and farmers and the dismay of the capital, Oslo.

1996 - the EU's '5,000-mile checkup'

A year-long inter-governmental conference begins in Tyny this Friday, probably ending in an Amsterdam summit in June 1997 to amend the Maastricht Treaty.

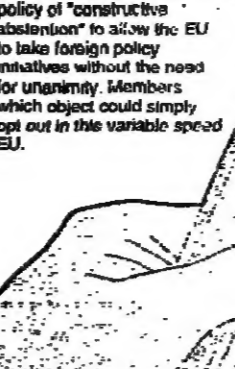
Enlargement. The biggest challenge ahead is the enlargement of the EU to bring in the former communist countries of central and eastern Europe...

controversial system of qualified majority voting.

One possible compromise could be to allocate voting rights according to a country's size, giving larger countries like Britain, France and Germany a bigger say.

The road ahead

A year of difficult negotiations lie ahead for Europe. There is a call for economic, political and defence issues to be addressed. Change is needed to enhance European democracy...



Conservative and Labour supporters should make common cause to resist the Commission's vision of a Euro-superstate created by taking lump-sized bites out of nations, says John Redwood

The argument against

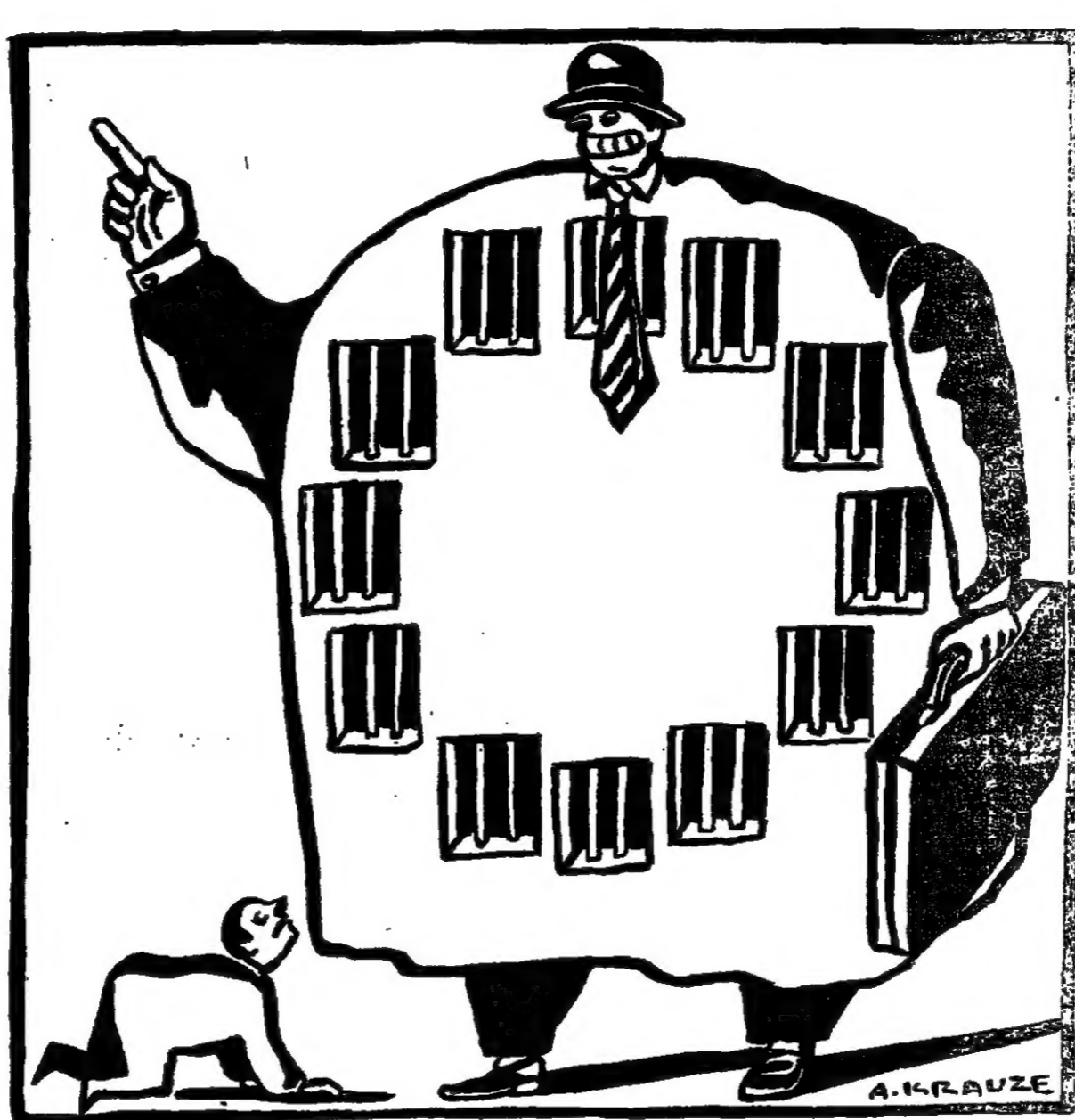
THE European Commission has set out its stall for the inter-governmental conference. The Foreign Office has been telling us that this will be nothing like the embattled sessions of Maastricht...

foreign policy, defence and home affairs what Maastricht did for monetary policy and economic affairs. At the heart of its ideas lies a common foreign and security policy...

Britain's alternative vision is of a Europe of nations. We want a partnership.

given to these continental documents, as they are likely to have more influence over our lives and politics than most of the things written here.

It wants the Schengen arrangements for common borders and frontier controls to be extended to all EU states. It wants immigration and crime policies brought under EC influence.



action where it makes sense and is freely entered into, along with trade to increase our prosperity.

system of border controls, meaning more internal police surveillance in a vain attempt to make up for the lack of action at frontiers.

and understanding its meaning for the economy, politics and our society, can we offer people jobs and prosperity.

the extent of centralised power in London, and finding more ways to return it to the people.

the sectors most in need of urgent reform. Nor will greater transparency or democratic accountability feature prominently...

The danger of legislative sclerosis is great. There are currently more than 20 areas in which legislation can be made, and the aim is to reduce these to three.

ber states to opt out if they believe vital national interests are threatened.

the larger countries to be guaranteed the right to select a commissioner.

remain central. On justice and home affairs, Britain is again opposed to the EU taking a larger role in domestic decision-making.

agency held up for a year by London's intransigence over whether disputes should be resolved by the court.

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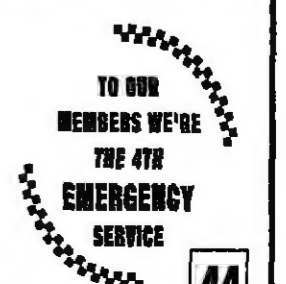
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Financial Editor: Alex Brummer  
Telephone: 0171-239-9610  
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# Finance Guardian

## £4bn EU bill blow to trade

Richard Thomas and Larry Elliott

**A** RECORD £4 billion payment to Brussels helped push Britain's balance of payments deeper into the red last year, according to government officials. With the row intensifying yesterday over the worldwide ban slapped on British beef

by the European Union, the Central Statistical Office disclosed that the UK had to foot the bill for the continent's economic slowdown last year. Balance of payments figures showed that the extra contributions to EU coffers helped widen the gap between imports and exports from £2.1 billion in 1994 to £6.7 billion in 1995. Treasury officials, aware of the simmering resentment felt towards Brussels by Conservative Eurosceptics, insisted the transfer to the European Union would be offset by some repayment this year. This rebate is expected to be between £750 million and £1 billion, but will not make up for the virtual doubling of the EU payment from the £2.1 billion recorded in 1994.

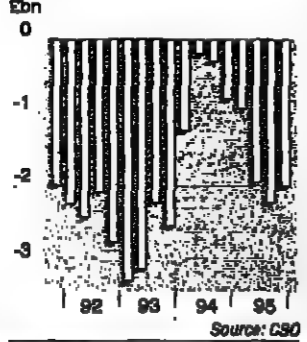
Yesterday's figures also underlined how the disappointing economic performance by Germany and France — two of Britain's biggest trading partners — led to a deterioration in the UK's visible trade balance in food, manufactured goods, oil, raw material

current account picture remained positive. A spokesman said that, 1994 apart, last year's outturn was the best performance since 1987. He added that the 1995 gap was almost exactly in line with last November's budget forecast of a £5.5 billion shortfall. The deterioration of the trade position in goods was offset by a better performance by Britain's service sector —

where the City and the impact of the low pound on tourism helped lift the surplus from £4.7 billion to £5.7 billion. The pattern for 1995 was not reproduced in the final three months of the year, when the overall balance of payments deficit fell from £2.1 billion to £1.8 billion. This was the result of a decline in the visible trade deficit from £3.6 billion to £2.8 billion and a drop in the sur-

plus on invisibles — services, transfer payments and interest, profits and dividends from £1.4 billion to £200 million. The shadow trade and industry secretary, Margaret Beckett, said: "The 1995 deficit was the tenth in a row. The country cannot run a permanent current account deficit just as an individual cannot run a permanent bank overdraft."

### Balance of payments



## No spending please, we're British

**C**ONSUMERS are squirrelling cash into savings accounts rather than splashing out in the high street, casting a shadow over government hopes of retail-led growth, writes Richard Thomas. Although real incomes were boosted last year by building society handouts and a pick-up in wages, much of the money is being reinvested, according to

figures from the Central Statistical Office yesterday. Personal disposable incomes were 0.7 per cent higher in the last three months of 1995 than in the preceding quarter, but consumer spending rose only 0.5 per cent. As a result, officials sharply revised up their estimate of the "savings ratio" — the proportion of income saved — from 8.6

per cent to 10.4 per cent for the third quarter and 10.5 per cent for the last three months of 1995. Jonathan Loynes, UK economist at HSBC Markets, said: "The pushing up of the savings ratios suggests consumers are still relatively cautious. This emphasises the need for lower base rates if the Government's growth target is to be met."

The CSO also revised down estimates of investment spending for 1995, from a 1.2 per cent rise to a 0.7 per cent fall over the previous year, reflecting the electricity regulator's decision to cut back on investment in housing and construction. Treasury officials were disappointed with the investment dip — the first since 1992 — but said firms were continuing to spend on plant and equipment.

## Skating over political points



Edited by Alex Brummer

**T**HE marketing of the Railtrack share offer all ways was going to be a much more low-key affair than some of its predecessors. The political risk is particularly acute given the Labour Party's wavering on whether it will take it back into public ownership/control when it takes office. That will hopefully be clarified by a statement of intent in the pathfinder prospectus on April 15. Some investors may also be more cautious because of recent privatisation history when almost immediately after the sale of the Government's remaining stakes in PowerGen and National Power, the electricity regulator announced a distributors' price review, sending the shares of the generators below their offer price.

consider emulating Mrs Thatcher's successful stand at Fontenay-lez-Clugny in 1984, which was based on a simple philosophy: Give Us Our Money Back. Yesterday the Government was handed the perfect weapon for pursuing this approach. The Central Statistical Office said that in 1995 the UK made a net payment of £4.1 billion to the European Commission — almost double 1994's contribution and an all-time record. "The criteria for assessing contributions are the rate of economic growth and government receipts from indirect taxes. And although the UK's expansion of 2.5 per cent last year looks anaemic by comparison to 1994's boom growth of 4 per cent, it is still better than the struggling economies of many of our European partners. As a result, our share of the cost of institutions such as the European Court and programmes like the Common Agricultural Policy shot up. The UK is likely to get some money back during the course of 1996 — Treasury insiders are hoping for £50 million because of an underspend in the total EC budget. But the increase in the size of the UK's transfer to the EU has already damaged the UK's balance of payments deficit, which stands at £3.7 billion for 1995 — a three-fold increase on the previous year. With the beef ban expected to send Britain's trade a further £1.5 billion into the red, even without any slaughter restrictions imposed from Europe seems a reasonable demand.

## Make a killing and take the Orient Express

Keith Harper  
Transport Editor

**D**ISCOUNT vouchers on the Orient Express and 25 modal railway engines were yesterday paraded as the more unusual inducements to encourage individuals to buy shares in the Railtrack flotation due at the end of May.

The Government wanted to be more generous to individual punters by offering free train travel, but the idea was ruled out after considerable investigation because of hostility among the private operating companies. The share offer stresses that at least 50 per cent of the Government's shares in Railtrack will be for sale.

## Flying winger delivers lucrative parting shot to United



**M**ANCHESTER United followed its rise to the top of the Premiership with financial results yesterday which confirmed the club's status in a commercial league of its own, writes Roger Cove. It has £7 million to back spending to strengthen the squad. It boasts one of the top Internet sites and claims to be the biggest catering venue outside London.

Despite lower sales in the first half of the year because of stadium rebuilding, the company produced six-month profits more than double the previous year. Lower operating profits were offset by exceptional gains from commercial deals and from the sale of players, notably Ukrainian winger Andrei Kanchelskis, sold to Everton for £2 million last summer.

As a result, pre-tax profits rose from £7.5 million to £13.3 million, on sales down from £36 million to just under £30 million. The interim dividend is to be increased by 14 per cent to 1.8p per share.

Some will be leaping into investors through their portals with such inducements as a prize draw for a trip on the Orient Express or to Barbados. Any hopes the public might have had that Railtrack might draw them in to commercial deals and from the sale of players, notably Ukrainian winger Andrei Kanchelskis, sold to Everton for £2 million last summer.

## Minister refuses to come clean

**E**NERGY Minister Tim Eggar yesterday infuriated Labour by sidestepping demands to spell out the full costs of cleaning up nuclear power stations as he fought to fend off calls for the £2.8 billion privatisation to be scrapped, writes Rebecca Smithers. During a heated debate on the sell-off, Mr Eggar refused to detail the industry's liabilities for decommissioning stations and cleaning up waste. Shadow trade and industry secretary Margaret

Beckett claimed the nuclear sell-off was one of the Government's "most reckless gambles" and the taxpayer would have to pick up much of the final bill for shutting the stations down. But Mr Eggar fought back by telling MPs: "The Labour Party are members of a unique club, a unique club of two. The new Labour Party joins with North Korea as the only political movements who are still opposed to privatisation in any form and in any circumstances."

## Hammer bangs on the Internet

Mark Tran in New York

**A**FORMER West Ham trainee footballer has decided to float free in cyberspace. Andrew Klein's pioneering Spring Street Brewery was the first American company to make a public offering of its shares on the Internet.

move by creating a cyberspace market for its shares. Mr Klein's successful use of the Internet to raise money has generated intense interest among other entrepreneurs. Mr Klein, who trained with West Ham football club in 1980 before becoming a securities lawyer and then a brewer, said he had received about 100 enquiries from companies and would-be entrepreneurs interested in tapping the Internet. "We attracted a significant number of our 3,500 shareholders by creatively harnessing the power of the Internet," he said. "It was simply a natural progression to develop a digital trading mechanism by which these shareholders could realise liquidity if they so desire."

## Brunei royals set to buy George V

Sam King

**B**RUNEI's royal family is thought to be close to purchasing the George V hotel in Paris from Granada, according to industry sources. The Sultan, who heads the family and whose £20 billion-plus fortune makes him the world's richest man, is thought likely to outbid Saudi Prince Al-Waleed, who has also expressed an interest in the hotel, which Granada acquired during January's £3.9 billion purchase of Forte. It is not known how much Granada wants for the

George V, but during last year's takeover battle, Forte had its entire Exclusive hotel chain valued at £910 million. The Sultan's love of luxury hotels is well known. He already owns London's Dorchester Hotel, and last year offered £200 million to Forte, then owner of the neighbouring Grosvenor House Hotel. But last night, sources close to the Sultan played down any suggestion that a deal involving the George V was imminent. The Sultan has avoided publicity since suggestions in the mid-1980s that he had helped finance Mubam-

ed Al-Fayed's controversial takeover of House of Fraser. However, insiders believe he was closely involved in last November's £240 million acquisition of royal jewellers Asprey by his younger brother, Prince Jefri Bolkiah. Bruce Jones, leisure and hotel analyst at broker Merrill Lynch, said the Sultan could easily outbid most hotel companies for the George V. He added: "The Sultan is able to take a much longer view than most pils can, but if he is interested, it would suggest that Granada may not be able to sell the Exclusives as a block." Meanwhile, American

hotel group Marriott is understood to be best placed to buy Granada's Meridien and Exclusive hotels. Although other leading hoteliers, including Bass, ITC-Sheraton and French group Accor are also believed to have approached Granada, Marriott is still thought to be the front-runner. Last night, no one from Marriott's head office was available for comment. Meanwhile, former Forte boss, Sir Rocco Forte, has recruited David Pascall, formerly finance director at MAT's money and securities broking division, as his acquisition team's new finance director.

## Trade beef

**H**ARASSED British officials trying to squeeze cash out of Brussels bureaucrats to compensate for the beef trade ban might

## Chemist hints at new formula

Sam King

**U**NICHEM, Britain's third biggest chemist, yesterday hinted it was prepared to raise its £223 million bid for Lloyds Chemists, Britain's second biggest drug chain, which is being assessed by the Monopolies Commission. Chief executive Jeff Harris, who said he was still confident of winning the fight for Lloyds, said he expected the bid — which lapsed on last month's MMC referral — to be cleared once the MMC completes its report. Mr Harris said Unichem had not ruled out increasing the bid, assuming that the MMC, which must report by June 28, gives its approval. Gebe, Unichem's German rival, is waiting for the Office of Fair Trading to refer its £250 million counter-bid for Lloyds to the MMC after Brussels referred the matter back to British competition authorities last week. Speaking as Unichem un-

veiled a 12 per cent increase in full year pre-tax profits, to £49.4 million, Mr Harris said he was still "extremely surprised" at the referral. He added: "After we get a favourable decision from the MMC, we will reset the bid based on a consideration of Lloyds that time. It's been kicked into touch for now, but we are neck and neck, no doubt about that." Mr Harris said Unichem, which snapped up 9.9 per cent of Lloyds in a market raid before the MMC referral, still had the advantage. He said: "Gebe bid more, but we had the sentiment of the City and pharmaceutical people behind us." "However, Gebe — whose bid for Lloyds reaches its first closing date today — immediately poured scorn on Mr Harris's remarks, insisting that it was still in pole position to win Lloyds. A spokesman said: "Ours is the only bid on the table at the moment." Unichem shares closed down 1p at 245p.

TOURIST RATES — BANK SELLS

Australia 1.20	France 7.44	Italy 2.25	Singapore 2.10
Austria 15.20	Germany 2.1675	Malta 0.54	South Africa 5.8
Belgium 46.05	Greece 381.00	Netherlands 2.455	Spain 182.50
Canada 2.01	Hong Kong 11.56	New Zealand 2.185	Sweden 9.95
Cyprus 0.8975	India 52.04	Norway 9.54	Switzerland 1.76
Denmark 2.45	Ireland 0.555	Portugal 228.50	Turkey 92.00
Finland 0.94	Israel 4.72	Saudi Arabia 5.66	USA 1.4850

12 FINANCE AND ECONOMICS

Halifax stacks up £1.1bn despite a dire market

Borrowers desert UK's biggest building society...

Teresa Hunter

BRITAIN'S biggest building society, the Halifax, yesterday announced profits of £1.1 billion last year despite a dire market...

strong growth in UK personal savings and investments and Halifax is best-placed to become the key financial institution for accumulating and managing personal wealth...

we expect this recovery to continue. Assets grew to £99 billion following the merger with the Leeds — which cost £113 million — and the acquisition of BNP Mortgages...

... Bovis Homes to be sold ...

P&O to steer a tighter course as profits slip

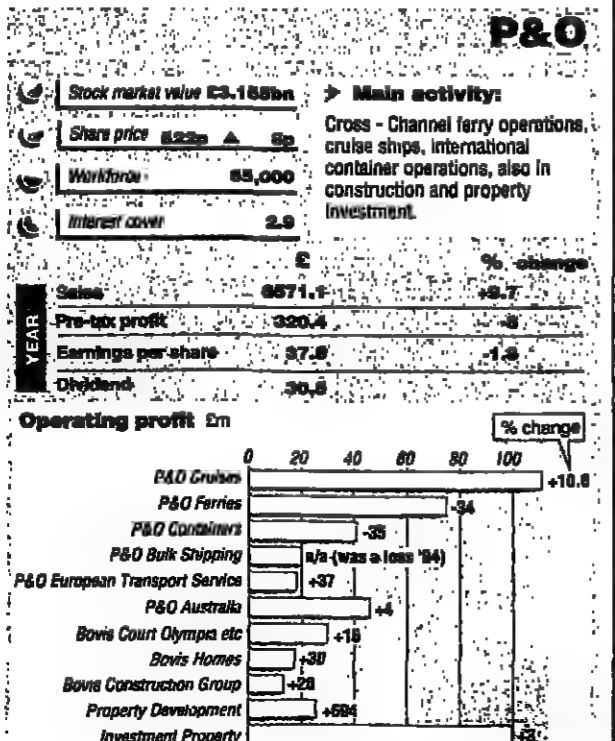
Outlook

Pauline Springett

THE shipping and property group, P&O, made all the right noises yesterday as far as the City was concerned...

profits last year to £320.1 million, said his priority is to improve the group's return on capital from 11 per cent to 15 per cent.

portfolio needs some money spent on it and sales are overdue. But the fact that sales have started — £100 million has been netted so far this year — is still welcome.



... but City detects recovery

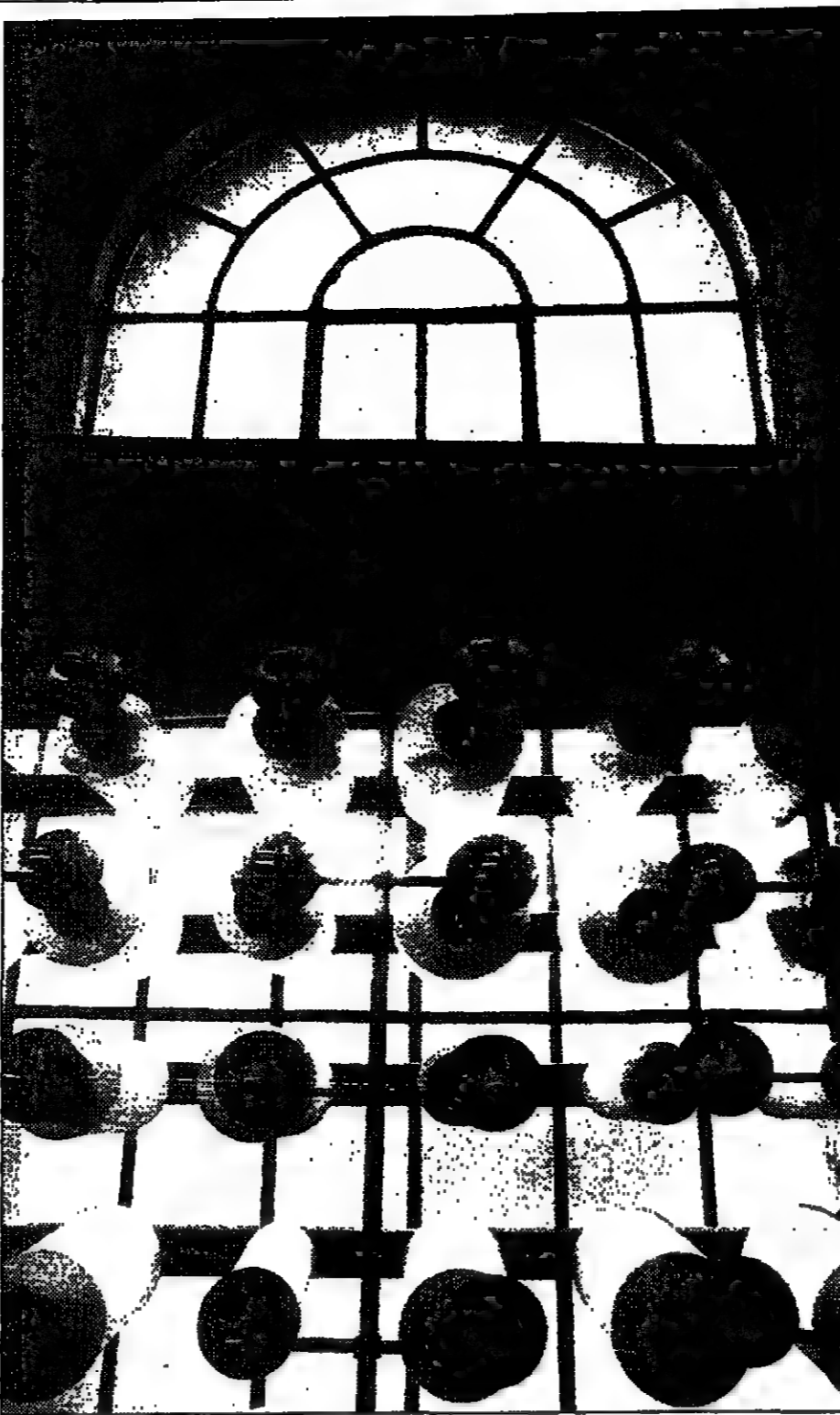
Taylor made £46m

Tony May

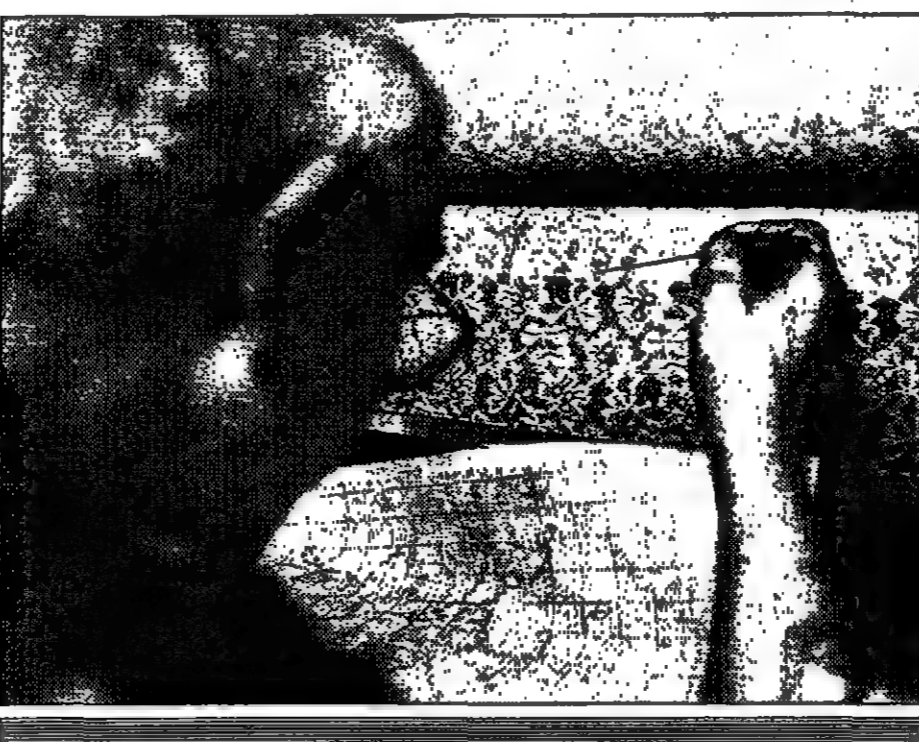
SHARES of Taylor Woodrow rose by as much as 8 per cent yesterday when the City sensed that the group was over the worst of the recession in construction...

cent to 2.25p. He said the improved outlook owed much to the group's switch to trading overseas. In 1995, more than 60 per cent of profits were generated from operations outside the UK...

of £8.9 million and no further heavy loss of jobs is expected. Mr Parsons said the group was committed to construction in Britain only where it offered well-priced business...



Fine work... Nottingham's John Gamble Manufacturing, 124 years in business, uses traditional machinery and processes — such as the bobbins (above) and checking for quality (below) — to make Leavers lace for goods ranging from bridalwear to handkerchiefs.



News in brief

Boots poised to boost German group profits

BASF, the German chemicals and pharmaceuticals group, expects earnings this year to be 'of the same magnitude' as those of 1995, its chairman, Dr Jürgen Strube, said yesterday...

Branson may return to music

RICHARD Branson's Virgin Group yesterday confirmed it may return to the music business nearly four years after selling the Virgin record label to Thorn EMI. A spokesman said Mr Branson had 'spoken to a number of people in the industry...

Iceland to branch out

FROZEN food specialists Iceland reported a 9 per cent rise in pre-tax profit to £73 million and hinted at diversification following the failure last autumn of a joint takeover bid for the Littlewoods store group...

US plant creates 267 jobs

AMERICAN electronics company Photronics is to invest £47 million in a new plant at Trafford Park, Manchester, creating 267 jobs. The plant, which will form the company's European headquarters, will produce photomasks...

Women bring more sex bias cases as job worries grow

WORKFACE/Martyn Halsall reports on record unfair dismissal hearings as workers face losing tribunal rights

MORE and more women are taking their employers to industrial tribunals in their fight against sexual discrimination at work, and some are coming away with payments of up to £150,000. As the number of women at work steadily increases, the latest figures from conciliation group Acas show...

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Blazing along... Cigar has his final pre-World Cup center

Racing

Cigar can light up the showdown in the sand

Chris Hawkins sets the scene for the Dubai World Cup, the richest race ever

IT IS said that Sheikh Mohammed won't have much change out of £3 million once the desert dust has settled on today's Dubai World Cup, but members of his organising committee have been told it would be rather vulgar to divulge any actual figures.

Top ten earners

Table listing the top ten earners of the Dubai World Cup (U.A.E.) with names like Japan Cup (Japan), Tokyo Yushun (Japanese Leagu), and Breeders' Cup Classic (USA).

The Epsom Derby (2850,000) ranks only 21st in the world pecking order, with the Prix de l'Arc de Triomphe (2838,220), 22nd.

Specialist rules out Maguire for three more weeks

ADRIAN MAGUIRE'S miserable season continued in black vein when Michael Foy, specialist at the Ridgeway Hospital, Swindon, advised the jockey to wait for a further three weeks before returning to the saddle.

Ken Oliver

Of seasons. After breaking a collar-bone at Newbury on March 1, Maguire missed out on the Cheltenham Festival but was hoping to be fit for Aintree.

track work since. He's not a brilliant worker. He never has been, that's not his style. What is his style is that in a race he will lie handy to the pace and usually strike for home just over two furlongs out.

They think Halling, and possibly Pentire, will get him at it. The Sheikh Mohammed camp will simply not believe it if their horse Halling, who has won four out of four on this track, does not make a race of it. He was humbled by Cigar at Belmont Park in the Breeders' Cup last autumn, but Halling's run was too bad to be true.

Catterick runners and riders with form

Table listing runners and riders for Catterick races, including 2.20 Ladies, 2.50 Sponsor's Stewards, and 3.25 Ladies.

Table listing runners and riders for Lingfield (All-weather Flat) races, including 2.00 Ladies, 2.50 Ladies, and 3.00 Ladies.

Chepstow National Hunt card

Table listing runners and riders for Chepstow National Hunt races, including 2.00 Ladies, 2.50 Ladies, and 3.00 Ladies.

Dubai World Cup

Table listing runners and riders for Dubai World Cup races, including 2.00 Ladies, 2.50 Ladies, and 3.00 Ladies.

Results

Table showing race results for Newcastle, Sandown, and other tracks, including race numbers, names, and winners.

Results

Table showing race results for Lingfield, Sandown, and other tracks, including race numbers, names, and winners.

Results

Table showing race results for Chepstow, Sandown, and other tracks, including race numbers, names, and winners.

Results

Table showing race results for Dubai World Cup, Sandown, and other tracks, including race numbers, names, and winners.

Advertisement for mobile phones, featuring the number 0800 0000 and the text 'E 0800 0000'.

Advertisement for RACELINE, featuring the phone number 0930 1664 and the text 'RACELINE COMMENTARY'.

Advertisement for CATERICK CHEPSTOW LINGFIELD IRISH, featuring the phone number 101 201 202 and the text 'CATERICK CHEPSTOW LINGFIELD IRISH'.

Advertisement for RACELINE, featuring the phone number 0930 1664 and the text 'RACELINE COMMENTARY'.

AF fa...
ain ov...
lodah...

Soccer

Friendly internationals: England v Bulgaria

Venables trusts in untried defence

David Lacey

ENGLAND will begin their mock A-levels at Wembley tonight against Bulgaria...

any serious alternatives at centre-back to Tony Adams and Gary Pallister...

McManaman will again play on the left wing, but as if to forestall further criticism about the restrictions...

Neither of the two names whose inclusion in Venables's squad...

At least the service they are likely to receive tonight will be more perceptive...

This will be the first full international between England and Bulgaria for 17 years...

ENGLAND TEAM

Table with columns: Name, Club, Age, Caps, Goals. Lists players like David Seaman, Gary Neville, Steve Hovewy, etc.



Striker scrutiny... Venables studies Ferdinand, who leads the line tonight

Republic of Ireland v Russia

Given called up with new Irish bogged down

Cynthia Bateman in Dublin

THE Republic of Ireland were unable to train at a rain-soaked Lansdowne Road yesterday...

again. He gives a first cap to the 19-year-old Shay Given...

Scotland v Australia

Spencer partners master

Patrick Glenn

AUSTRALIANS no longer come from down south...

Spencer has, figuratively speaking, made a longer journey than most of tonight's opponents...

me to establish my claim." Scotland's manager Craig Brown said...

Only one of the 18 players called up by the coach Eddie Thomson...

"I always admired Ally and Mo Johnston at Ibrox but with those two and Mark Hateley there I was more of a supporter than a fellow player..."

Scotland's leading scorer is Stuart Pearce, who has scored 12 goals in 23 appearances...

Ghost of Pickles hounds Euro '96

John Duncan recalls the day an inquisitive canine came to England's World Cup rescue

THIRTY years ago today Dave Corbett was walking his dog, a mongrel named Pickles...

"Nothing at all went wrong with our security," said one of the organisers. "The cup just got stolen."

turned up and asked to be admitted to the post-festival revels, which they were. Since then, nothing.



One man and his dog... Dave Corbett with the mongrel pup that found the Jules Rimet Trophy in a south London hedge

European U-21 Ch'ship: Scotland 3, Hungary 1 (agg: 4-3)

Donnelly's late strike sees Scots through

Patrick Glenn

SCOTLAND reached the semi-finals of this tournament with breathtakingly late goals from the substitute Jim Hamilton and Simon Donnelly...

than those in the all-white strip ahead of him during that opening onslaught.

right-footed past Stille by Egressy. The equaliser came three minutes before the interval...

Results

Soccer

ENGLAND LEAGUE Second Division: Bristol Rovers 1-1, Charlton 1-1, etc.

Rugby Union

CLARET South Wales Police 20, Swansea 45, etc.

Tennis

LIPTON CHAMPIONSHIPS (Key Baccine, Flay): Steve Third round: A. Agazzi vs G. Panatta...

Chess

WORLD'S STRONGEST GRANDMASTERS (Amsterdam): Boudewijn van den Berg vs J. Giffard...

Fixtures

INTERNATIONALS: England v Bulgaria (A.O.); Northern Ireland v Norway; etc.

Team talk advertisement for The Independent News and Reports Service. Includes phone number 0891 33 77+ and a list of sports news items.

Obituary for Cissie Charlton, aged 84. A former footballer who played for Leeds and Jackie Milburn was a cousin.

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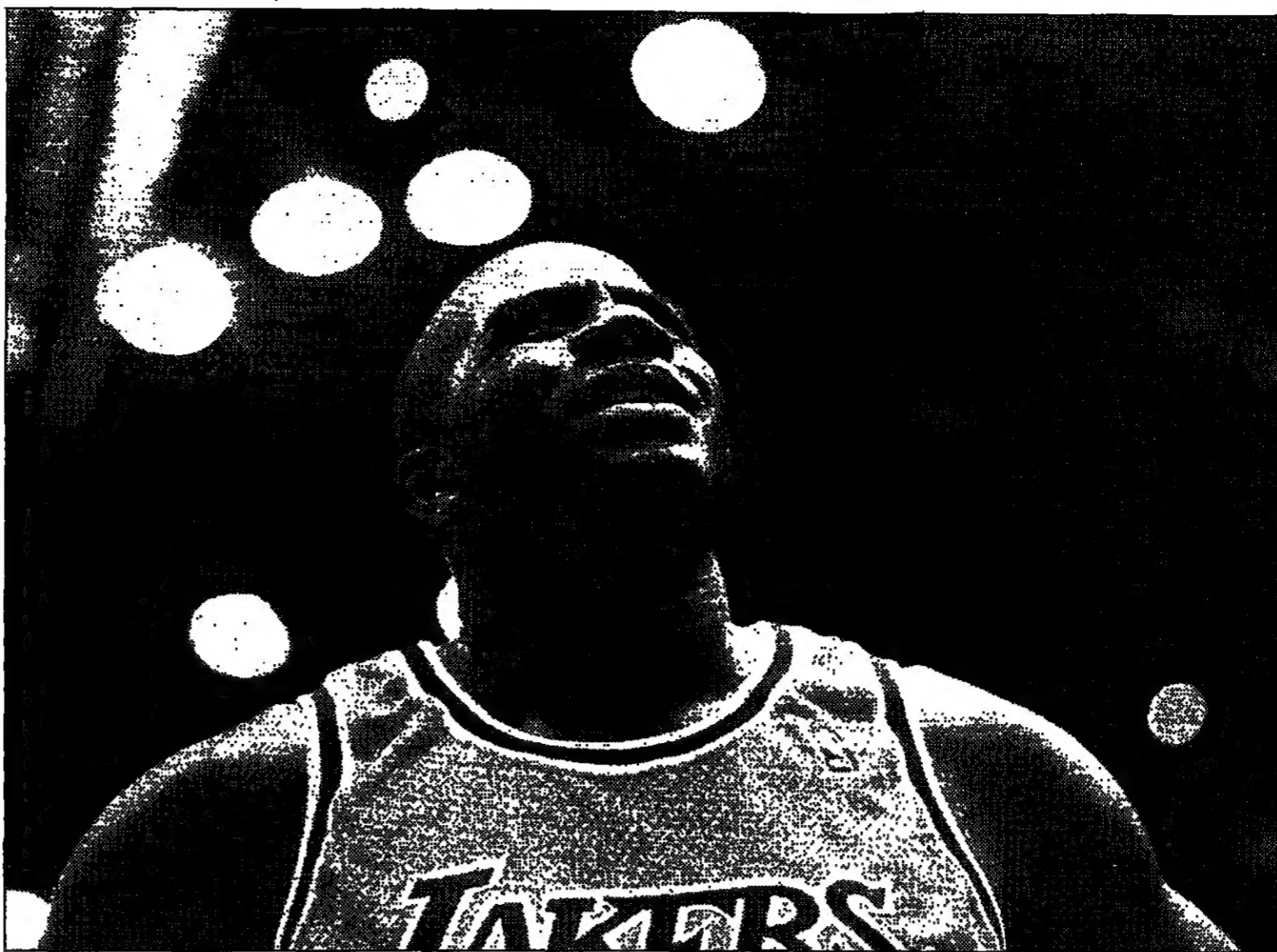
Athletics

BAF faces ruin over Modahl

Duncan Mackay counts the cost of the IAAF verdict

BRITISH athletics could find itself teetering on the edge of financial ruin as a result of Diane Modahl's £80,000 compensation claim...

Even if the BAF wins, it will still have to pay more large legal fees to defend itself, all of which will plunge it into more crisis at a time when its television deal with ITV is in danger of being ended...



Vision of greatness... Magic Johnson has been receiving fans' ovations and opponents' respect on his return for LA Lakers

Enduring spell of Magic

Richard Williams finds LA Lakers' HIV-positive superstar leading by example on his NBA comeback and still well able to hold court

IN THE locker room at the Los Angeles Forum it's 10 minutes after the final buzzer and Magic Johnson has gone to get a shower...

against which the younger stars can test their progress. Van Exel is just one of the young Lakers benefiting from the experience of Johnson...

did the concessions do?" A second Magic Theatre is currently going up in Atlanta, with more to follow...

'I'm happy I'm back. I've been fortunate. People like how I play. That's a blessing from God.'

It's not about the money with me, or about the limelight," he protests. "People ask, 'Didn't you miss the limelight?' They don't realize that even when I was retired I couldn't go to a concert or a movie until after the lights had gone down because the place would go crazy...

games, not just the big ones. Everybody has treated me well. Shaq, everybody. You run around all the time with these guys, but to have them embrace you and say welcome back, that's something...

Golf

Olazabal losing fitness battle

David Davies at Ponte Vedra

JOSE-MARIA Olazabal, the last European to win a major championship, is not only one of the Players Championship here in Florida this week but is unlikely to play in the US Masters in Augusta in two weeks' time...

ing this week. He is the barely recognisable Sandy Lyle, who has a unique record in this event. He has entered it 10 times, won it in 1987 and made the cut on only one other occasion, in 1984...

Ice Hockey

Storm into Euro League

Vic Batchelder

THE Manchester Storm will join the British League champions, the Sheffield Steelers, in European competition next season...

Hockey

GB rout France after a fashion

Pat Rowley

GREAT BRITAIN scored seven second-half goals to beat France 8-2 in the first of their two women's internationals at Bisham...

Boxing

Olympic pair miss final trial

Two British boxers tipped to do well in Atlanta look like missing the Olympic tournament...

Sport in brief

Cricket

Allan Border departed the first-class game yesterday to a standing ovation from a small crowd at the MCC, after Queensland's five-wicket defeat by Victoria cost the 40-year-old former Australian captain a farewell appearance...

Swimming

Mark Foster earned a prize worth £10,000 from his sponsor when he shattered the world 50 metres butterfly long-course record at Cardiff's Empire Pool last night...

Chess

Nigel Short drew from a winning position against Garry Kasparov in the Vermeijde Sparbank tournament in Amsterdam where all yesterday's fourth-round games were drawn...

Why is everyone talking Yakult?

Advertisement for Mercury MiniCall. Features a large image of a person talking on a mobile phone, the text 'No running costs.', and 'With Mercury MiniCall.' Below this is a list of features: NO CONTRACT, NO MONTHLY BILLS, NATIONWIDE COVERAGE, EASY TO USE. Includes contact information and a small image of the device.

# SportsGuardian

## Cricket wastes a year

### Illingworth resigns half his job

David Foot

**T**HE era of the English cricket supreme ended yesterday when the Test and County Cricket Board released a short statement announcing that it will return to a system similar to that discarded 13 months ago.

In both instances Ray Illingworth provided the catalyst for change. When Keith Fletcher was sacked as England manager last March Illingworth asked to combine the job with that of chairman of selectors, yesterday — four days after he was re-elected unopposed as chairman for another six months — he stood down from the team management.

Illingworth will not be replaced directly. Instead England will appoint a coach this summer — expected to be David Lloyd of Lancashire or John Emburey of Northamptonshire — although it was not immediately clear what the difference between coach and manager will be.

The new set-up was verified by the TCCB's 10-man executive committee yesterday. The deliberations mean that England's teams for this summer's series against India and Pakistan, and the touring parties for next winter's programme, will be chosen by a five-man panel headed by Illingworth.

That goes back to the pre-supremo set-up; last summer only four selectors were involved, namely Illingworth, the captain Mike Atherton, Fred Titmus and David Graveney.

Illingworth's pre-emptive and seemingly embittered strike, when making it clear that he did not intend remain-

ing the manager, took some members at Lord's by surprise, at least by his timing. He had hinted at murky deeds and backstabbing, aimed, he said, specifically at himself. His anger at what he saw as Warwickshire's and Mike Smith's overt campaign against him was not concealed.

At yesterday's lengthy meeting at headquarters his name was not often mentioned. Discussion centred instead on how Test cricket here could be revived, in the broader sense, without him.

One member said: "It was a particularly open and honest meeting, with not a great difference of opinion. Now one knows it's going to be a matter of gradual elimination, in finding the right man to become England's coach."

The counties will nominate the two selectors. Graveney and Titmus were last year's appointees and both are thought ready to stand again — even though Graveney, currently on holiday in Florida, is upset at the hampered way he was forced to withdraw his name last week in a contest with Illingworth for the Test chairman's job.

There will be a ballot if necessary for the new selectorial vacancies. More urgent in timescale is the appointment of a coach. The executive committee expects a firm decision by Easter, well in advance of the Ashfield report into the state of English cricket. Lloyd, the favourite, is off with Lancashire to Jamaica today, and Emburey is going on a pre-season tour with Northamptonshire.

The inconclusive nature of the meeting, although perhaps inevitable, only added to the surfeit of embarrassment over recent cricketing politics and appointments.

Now the TCCB has the delicate job of approaching the counties concerned to discover whether they would be prepared to part on a permanent basis, with their outstanding coaches. Lancashire would be sad, though probably willing, to waive any commitment by Lloyd. Northamptonshire, who have just taken on Emburey for four years, might be inclined to stall; they were planning to build their future around him.

## RED CARD IN ITALY, FUTURE IN ENGLAND?



Career question... for Paul Ince, whose future with Internazionale may be decided next week PHOTOGRAPH: FRANK BARCH

## Ince is back, perhaps for good

### David Lacey on the recalled midfielder with moving again much on his mind

**P**AUL INCE is back in the England team and may soon be back in England. Much depends on the Italian Football Federation's view of the Internazionale player's sending-off at Udine on Sunday, and not least the fact that initially he refused to leave the pitch.

The referee Roberto Bettin had already dismissed Ince once this season. On Sunday he booked him for a dive, which television replays proved to be nothing of the kind. Nevertheless Ince's protests brought

him another red card from Bettin and he may be in trouble for staying on the pitch for three minutes disrupting the decision.

The Italian federation is expected to decide his punishment today. He could be banned for anything from one match to the rest of the season. Either way his future with Inter Milan is in the balance.

Before last Sunday's game the odds were that there will be a decision on the Wednesday or Thursday of next week. It is a pity this has happened because the Italians now seem to have taken me into their football family. The fans idolise me, they love me,

and this has helped me immensely."

Life for Ince at Inter changed when Roy Hodgson, then the English coach of the Swiss national team, took over at San Siro.

"That was the most significant thing for me," Ince explained. "Roy's got the whole team working together and this has helped my game."

Ince's England recall after a 13-month absence rounds off what, in his words, has been "a long year for me". After he appeared at the start of the riot-wrecked match in Dublin in February last year, Terry Venables dropped him for the friendly with Uruguay because he felt the player had too much on his mind. He faced assault charges — of which he was subsequently cleared — arising from the Eric Cantona kung-fu incident.

## Great escape to court of the crimson king



Vincent Hanna

**M**AYBE I shouldn't tell you about this, but what the hell: I always fancied being in a Colditz movie.

We had an excursion last week to Old Trafford; two daughters, one boyfriend, and me. We caught the 14.00 from Euston and travelled a mile and a half. There the engine stopped. Happy football fans and tired businessmen laughed and ordered another bottle of wine. Don't worry, the conductor said, we'll get another engine to pull us to Watford, or back to Euston, or somewhere. When? we asked. Soon, he said.

An hour later there was no sign of the engine. We were fed more implausible stories, and some snapped at the conductor, who said he was retiring soon.

A man in the buffet said he'd known Duncan Edwards, and a crowd gathered as he talked of the young genius who died after Munich.

Then he made a mistake: "You youngsters don't know how great he was, he could play anywhere. I saw him score against Scotland at Wembley in 1956. He'd have been 55 now."

"No he wouldn't," said a voice from the corner, "he'd have been 58, and the Scotland game was in 1957."

"Where did you learn all that?" I asked Emily, 20, the older daughter. "I did a project on him once," she said. "But come with me, Dad, I'm on the escape committee."

cricket bat and puberty. In 1957 I saw the Busby Babes, the year they won their second title. Duncan Edwards was everyone's hero. He was, as Geoffrey Green said, "a volcano of excitement".

But for Munich he would have captained England in 1958.

Once I trekked to St Francis's church, Dudley, to see his stained-glass window by the font. Now there is to be a postage stamp in his honour, along with Bobby Moore, Billy Wright, Danny Blanchflower and Dixie Dean. Great players all.

"If you're a Red Devil you know about greatness," said Emily. "There was Duncan and Georgie. And two kings, first Denis and now Eric."

We made Manchester at 7.40 where I foolishly bet the taxi driver that he couldn't make Old Trafford in 10 minutes. He duly collected.

Into the cathedral pushed and heaved 50,000. "This is Matt Busby Way," helpfully explained the girls, on their first visit, "and over there is the Munich Clock." Keep calm, I thought, don't panic.

**T**HEY had changed on the train and were swathed head to toe in red and black, with baseball caps and combat boots. These understated ensembles were set off by the discreet use of a 6ft x 4ft French tricolore with a picture of his nibs and "Le Roi" emblazoned thereon.

Glancing nervously at the huge crowd, I remember at their mother's warnings. Rob was looking nervous — but then he's a Gillingham supporter. "Don't worry, Dad," beamed Sinead, "we are among our own kind." Then, pausing only to spit at an Arsenal fan, I resumed up the huge South Stand.

Actually they didn't spit at anybody. They told me to put that in — for their street cred.

Within seconds they had broad Lancashire accents, screaming "Tek im out please" and "It's yer chance" at United players. Arsenal were ignored.

I caught a glimpse of the Cantona goal, a wondrous dipping volley from 27 yards, a goal, as Alex Ferguson said "it's to win a match like that". But I saw little afterwards because both of them were standing on me.

Afterwards they sang ooh ah Cantona to Go West by the Pet Shop Boys and we walked to near the spot from where he hit it. Sinead waved her flag and said, "Thank you, Eric."

"He didn't do it just for you," I said.

"Oh yes he did," she replied.

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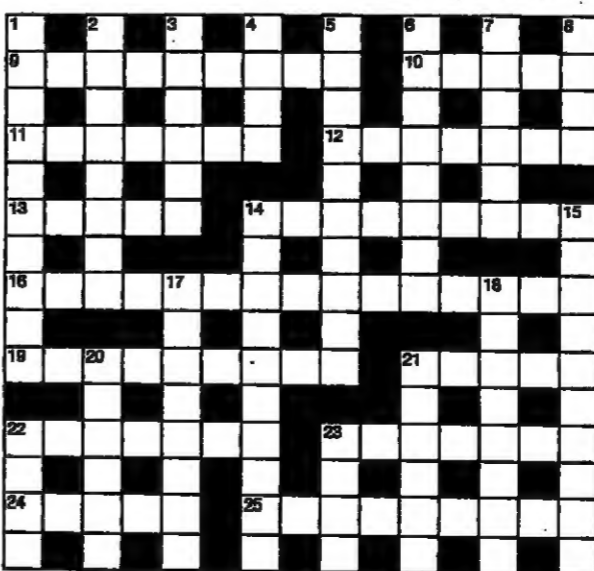
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## Guardian Crossword No 20,611

Set by Araucaria



- Across**
- 9 Emperor or Pope with a group of oarsmen, about ten (9)
  - 10 Group of oarsmen, perhaps, for 14 down's month and ... (5)
  - 11 ... last in river's made its world-shaking time (3,4)
  - 12 Baker's place? Sadly he is in pawn (3-4)
  - 13 Turn out the winner deserted by god (5)
  - 14 Sanctified knowledge among food for the Bulls (4,5)
  - 16 Salutes the flag for more than passing attainment (7,8)
  - 19 Write about a lot of noise in retirement like me (9)
  - 21 Love and kiss at front of lake (2-3)

- 22 Upper sixth in depression, being on the wrong course? (7)
  - 23 Bribe to put little in gun (7)
  - 24 Tree with some plums that one could pick but not choose? (5)
  - 25 Famous carbonate translated into Norse (9)
- Down**
- 1,6 Striker lets out large beast having met up with family in picture (10,8)
  - 2 Illuminated advertisement supplying gen on sin (4,4)
  - 3 Scholar has a day without transport (8)
  - 4 A day that is infinite (4)
  - 5 Prefect affected by stripper — cool (10)
  - 6 See 1
  - 7 River for republican cook? (6)

8 One of a scene in 21 down a big slice after 22 down (4)

14 German 25 in the direction of the 1, 5, 9, 20, etc. (10)

15 Team with key to missile (10)

17 Reised as a baby vigorously protesting (2,2,4)

18 Opening move a non-starter; upsetting Number One is a grievous fault (6)

19 Prospective half-back of Heaman has it all (6)

21 Foot brought up on poetry in scene of 1 (6)

22, 23 Shoots area up — perform or refrain (4-4)

**Solution tomorrow**

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